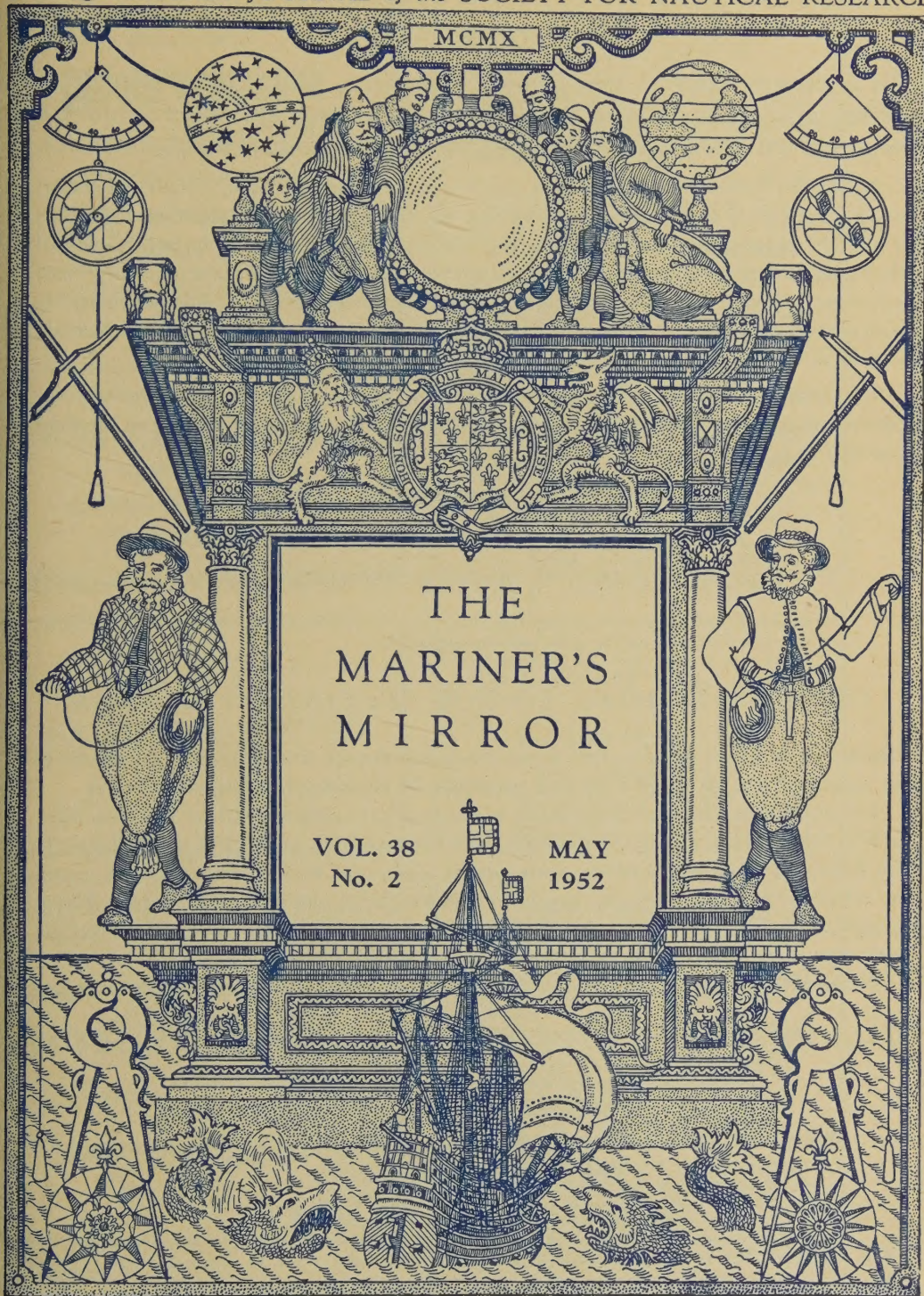


THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL of the SOCIETY FOR NAUTICAL RESEARCH



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The aim of the Society being to arrive at true conclusions through free discussion, it is distinctly to be understood that the Editor is not held responsible for statements made in the *Journal*.

Contributions and correspondence should be addressed to Commander HILARY P. MEAD, R.N., 4 *Eliot Place, London, S.E. 3*. Although not absolutely essential, it would be of great assistance to the Editor and the Printers if articles, notes, queries, answers and reviews of books could be typed, on one side of the paper, preferably quarto, with double-spacing and with a wide margin. Photographs and line drawings to illustrate contributions are welcomed, but on account of the cost and a shortage of 'art' paper the use of plates has to be somewhat restricted.

Names of ships should be underlined to denote *italics*, and not written within inverted commas.

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## EDITOR'S NOTES

## OBITUARY

We record with great regret the death of Vice-Admiral Sir Henry Kitson, K.B.E., C.B., which occurred on 19 February at Farnham in Surrey. He was 74. The Society was represented at the funeral by our member and councillor, Mr R. A. Skelton, and flowers were sent in the name of the Society. There was a full obituary notice in *The Times* newspaper of 21 February, and a shorter personal appreciation in the issue of 7 March.

Admiral Kitson had been a member of the Society for Nautical Research for more than twenty years, and was elected to the Council in 1935 and made a Vice-President in 1939. He took the liveliest interest in all the activities of the Society, and his advice and experience in particular were of the greatest help in matters to do with Portsmouth Dockyard, of which he was Admiral-Superintendent from 1931 to 1935. He contributed valuable articles to this *Journal* from time to time. The loss to the Society will be deeply felt; he will be especially remembered for his kindness and consideration towards juniors and subordinates which gained for him much affection. He was an amateur water-colour painter of considerable distinction.

Admiral Kitson with great conscientiousness devoted himself to all kinds of good causes in his West Surrey village of Tilford and in Farnham and the district, a leadership that was greatly needed.

## PUBLISHERS' NEW STOCK

With reference to the books written by our member, Mr G. R. G. Worcester, the publishers announce that they now stock again Vols. I and II of *Junks and Sampons of the Yangtze*, price £2 each (\$ 8), and *Junks and Sampons of the Upper Yangtze*, price 30s. (\$ 6). The publishers are Kegan Paul, French, Trubner and Co., 43 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

## THE KING'S FLAGS AND SOME OTHERS

*By Cecil King*

**T**HIS day the King and several of his noblemen came on board the *Prince*. His Royal Highness caused the Standard to be struck when the King's Standard was in sight, and when the King was on board the Standard was hoisted at the Maintopmasthead and the Red Standard with the Anchor in it at the Foretopmasthead and the Union Flag at the Mizentopmasthead....'

The acquisition, for the National Maritime Museum, of an exquisite drawing by the younger Van de Velde<sup>1</sup> gave an added interest to this oft-quoted extract from Sir John Narbrough's journal; for the drawing in question is believed to represent the scene, as described by him in 1672 when King Charles II visited his fleet, fresh from its victory at Sole Bay. An earlier extract, from the same authority, mentions the pendants, which decorated yard-arms and mastheads; and in the drawing His Royal Highness's<sup>2</sup> flagship is clearly depicted, dressed (in the manner described) for the reception of His Majesty. H.M.S. *Prince* is surrounded by ships and yachts 'wearing'<sup>3</sup> command flags, ensigns, jacks and pendants, which in a more modern guise are the principal naval flags of this country. Their treatment will occupy the major portion of this article.

All the changes, which have affected the Royal Arms of the United Kingdom since the days of Richard I, have been fully explained and illustrated elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> The Royal Banner of the Stuart reigns, despite its rectangular shape, became known as the Standard Royal,<sup>5</sup> and was the fourth version of the arms which we know in banner form.<sup>6</sup> It was also the

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced in *S.N.R. Annual Report* (1930), p. 32 etc. See also *M.M.*, Vol. xi, p. 233. The drawing once belonged to Dominic Serres, who, so far as our present knowledge goes, was the immediate successor of the Van de Velde, as marine painter to the Court of St James.

<sup>2</sup> James, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral 1660-73; and again 1685, as King James II.

<sup>3</sup> Concerning this word one has heard great argument, some contending that it applies only to persons, and 'bearing' to ships. One finds, however, the two words employed in the same sense in the same document, 'wearing' being for all purposes the more usual.

<sup>4</sup> W. G. Perrin, *British Flags*; A. C. Fox Davies, *Complete Guide to Heraldry*; etc.

<sup>5</sup> An heraldic 'standard' is of streamer shape.

<sup>6</sup> The earliest version displayed the royal arms of England only. In the second (1340) Edward III quartered the leopards of England with the fleurs-de-lis of France. About 1365 the French royal arms underwent a change; the fleurs-de-lis, instead of powdering the field, were reduced in number to three: and this change was adopted by Henry IV of England shortly afterwards (1411). No further permanent change occurred until the death of Elizabeth.



first of such flags to contain a reference to Scotland and Ireland. King James I, at the union of the crowns in 1603, placed the lion of the Scottish Royal Arms in the second quarter and a harp in the third: the first and fourth quarters retaining the quarterly arms of England and France 'Modern', the French occupying the first place.

Since the Royal Standard contains the arms of the King, we should expect it to be associated only with a vessel in which the King is embarked; but, as Sir John Narbrough indicates, this was not necessarily the case in his day, nor was the custom established before the end of the century in which he lived. Indeed, at some time during the reign of Henry VIII, it came to be employed by the Lord High Admiral, he being empowered to wear the King's flag, as the King's representative at sea. The royal banner was also sometimes displayed as a 'flagg of counsell',<sup>1</sup> but this use of it is connected with signalling, a subject which is outside the scope of the present study.

Of the first appearance at sea of the English royal arms we find examples in thirteenth-century seals and manuscripts; and the natural conclusion derived therefrom is that the arms were then regarded as no more than an indication of English nationality. On occasion, for example, the royal banner appears in association with a port flag, like that of the Cinque Ports;<sup>2</sup> alternatively sometimes the port flag appears in company with the red-cross flag of St George. Both types of flag were definitely established by the end of the thirteenth century and it has been thought that the wearing of the royal arms may have become, by the middle of the century following, exclusively indicative of service under the King.<sup>3</sup>

Ships had as yet but one mast; and this was usually decorated, above the top, with a streamer. The banners proper were more generally worn on deck; in fact, pictures of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries show us that the banners of all noble personages present on board were similarly displayed. Furthermore, we see, from contemporary inventories, that English vessels wore, according to circumstances, the royal arms (or badges) and religious emblems, often associated with the red cross of St George. Although three, and even four, masts were known before the end of the fifteenth century, banners were still, to a great extent, displayed on deck in the century following.<sup>4</sup> One of the best proofs of this is afforded

<sup>1</sup> The Spanish royal banner was hoisted by Medina Sidonia in 1588 as a signal to engage.

<sup>2</sup> Many examples are known in other countries of the use of Port (or local) flags to a much later date: e.g. Holland, where in the seventeenth century flags of Flushing, Veere, etc. were often used as jacks; and France, where such flags (Calais, Havre, Marseille, etc.) were employed as ensigns until 1817 or thereabouts.

<sup>3</sup> *British Flags*, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Vincent Volpe's *Embarkation of Henry VIII*.

by Pettyt's<sup>1</sup> plan of Calais (c. 1545), where several royal banners and badge flags are seen to be similarly placed, one of them being made up in the Tudor colours of white and green. From the profusion of these banners we are tempted to think that this particular vessel is dressed to receive Royalty. From the same drawing we can already trace the influence of the Reformation in the banishment of Saintly devices; the retention of the cross of St George, in the huge masthead streamer, showing also that it had long been firmly established as a *national*, in contrast to an ecclesiastical, emblem. This emblem henceforth characterized English ships as definitely national. Spanish ships were characterized by the ragged red saltire of Burgundy.

No order relating to the display of the royal banner in the Lord High Admiral's ship has been discovered prior to 1545; but the first noteworthy example of its employment, to denote leadership at sea, was in 1340, when Edward III himself led his fleet into action at Sluys.<sup>3</sup> To those who are accustomed to the allocation of certain positions, each to a different type of flag, the pre-seventeenth-century tendency evinced by the *genus* 'Buntirg' to shift from deck to masthead and back again is somewhat confusing. It was not until the reign of Charles I that serious attempts became apparent in Great Britain to establish a permanent system of national ensigns at the poop of ships and to assign definite flags, for different commands, to their appropriate mastheads.

In the first part of the sixteenth century, then, leadership at sea was still indicated by a prominent display of banners and streamers.<sup>4</sup> We know that ships proceeding to sea under the Admiral of France wore his own arms only,<sup>5</sup> his flagship being distinguished by its heraldic exuberance. The use of a royal banner had been sometimes permitted elsewhere in special circumstances, notably the traditional white flag, with the Portuguese royal arms, worn by Vasco da Gama in 1497, and the English royal banner granted two years earlier to the Cabots, on their own voyages of discovery. The Boazio maps suggest that Drake wore a royal standard on his voyage of 1585-6; and there are reasons, also, for thinking that Hawkins wore this same banner at San Juan de Ulloa.<sup>6</sup>

1 Thomas Pettyt, c. 1510-58.

2 That is, after the accession of Charles the Fifth. Many of the national and maritime flags of Europe have displayed, from time to time, religious emblems, usually a cross or a saltire. Most of these survive and have been added to, since the war of 1914-18, e.g. Finland, Latvia, etc.

3 Froissart, I.

4 And sometimes of arms or badges on the sails, this practice being also followed in the case of other persons of distinction; *M.M.*, Vol. v, p. 142.

5 Definitely ordered in 1543 and again in 1584. The author is indebted to Commandant L. Roërie for drawing his attention to an even earlier order in a similar sense, that for the Admiral of Guienne. The French Crown would never depute the use of the royal banner to the Admiral even after 1669.

6 B.M. Cotton MSS. Otho E. viii.



In assigning the main masthead to the royal banner in the Lord High Admiral's flagship, Lord Lisle's order of 1545 provided also for the employment of the flag of St George at the fore, a practice which again obtained in the Armada and Cadiz campaigns and remained in force until the appearance of the Union Flag. This order<sup>1</sup> indicates further the relative seniority of the fore and mizzen for the two junior admirals, each of whom wore *two* flags of St George. It provides also an early example of the use of a national flag for the distinction of squadrons.<sup>2</sup> The Armada campaign of 1588 revealed the need for a better squadronal organization. In the expedition to Cadiz in 1596, the English force was divided into four squadrons, each with three flagships; and the contemporary diagrams<sup>3</sup> show us what is probably the first use of squadronal flags of command. In addition to their squadronal flag, the vice and rear-admirals of the fleet wore the national flag at the fore and mizzen respectively, a practice of which we find further examples at a later date. Some of the squadronal flags on this occasion were striped, and bore (in a canton or overall) the cross of St George. There is no certainty that similar flags were worn also as poop-ensigns; but the possibility of the employment of pendants, for *national* distinction, both now and in 1588, must not be overlooked. A passion, however, seems to have raged all over Europe, in the sixteenth century, for striped poop-ensigns; these ensigns, which, on the analogy of a regimental colour, must often have served to distinguish an individual ship, are sometimes seen to contain a national device,<sup>4</sup> and could thus serve also as national flags. Between the flags of naval vessels and those of other craft there was, however, still no standardized difference; but we can recognize, in the streamers of preceding centuries, the ancestors of the pendant, which afterwards marked out a King's ship from her less formidable sisters.

Ireland possessed no separate navy,<sup>5</sup> but the Scottish Crown owned some ships, notable among them being the *Great Michael* of 1513, a contemporary of the *Grande Française*. The records indicate the employment, in the *Great Michael*, of the red lion of Scotland and the white saltire of St Andrew; but we are not able to state definitely that the St Andrew's was used afloat as freely as was the cross of St George in English ships. It seems reasonable,

<sup>1</sup> *British Flags*, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Private ships of the centre wore it at the main, the van at the fore, the 'wyng' at the mizzen.

<sup>3</sup> *Naval Miscellany* (N.R.S.), Vol. 1, p. 44, etc. The vice-admiral and rear-admiral of the *fleet* wore the squadronal flag at the main, as commanding squadrons. These striped and other flags are the forerunners of the red, white and blue command flags which remained in use until 1864.

<sup>4</sup> For example, the white cross of France or the saltire ragulé of Burgundy. The word 'Ensign' (or 'ancient') appears in inventories for the first time in 1574.

<sup>5</sup> It had been customary for Irish merchant vessels to go to sea under the English flag.

however, to think that such was the case; for St Andrew was adopted as the patron saint of Scotland some centuries before;<sup>1</sup> in England, St George had finally replaced St Edward the Confessor. The union of the two crowns, in 1603, was followed by the Proclamation of 12 April 1606, in which the new Union flag was decreed, as also its employment at the mainmast of all British ships. English ships were to wear (in addition) their St George's flag at the fore, and Scottish ships their flag of St Andrew. The Scots objected to the new combined flag and protested against it, devising a Union Flag of their own,<sup>2</sup> in which the saltire passed over the top of the red cross; but such protests were unavailing, and the authorized version remained in use for nearly two hundred years.<sup>3</sup>

The St George's cross, in its functional employment of a command flag (as at Cadiz in 1596) was now replaced by the Union Flag, which appears as the distinction of a vice and of a rear-admiral in Vroom's picture of Prince Charles's Return from Spain<sup>4</sup> and in Willaerts's pictures of the *Prince Royal* (1613) at Windsor Castle and in the National Maritime Museum. The fleet that went to Boulogne in June 1625 wore three Union Flags; the senior officer not being authorized to wear the Royal Standard, and such an arrangement is mentioned in Pepys's List of 1686. During the ill-fated expedition to Cadiz in 1625, Lord Wimbledon's fleet wore nine flags, he being authorized to employ the Royal Standard as his own flag of command. On this occasion squadronal flags reappeared; but, in contrast to the usage during the attack on the same place by Howard and Essex in 1596, the flags were of red, blue and white, probably the first appearance of these three memorable colours. Nine flags were again worn on the Rhe expedition of 1627, the senior being the Royal Standard entrusted to the Duke of Buckingham, Lord High Admiral, who, as 'Admirall particular of the bloody colours', commanded also the red or centre squadron. The vice and rear-admirals on this occasion, in addition to their squadronal flags of blue and white respectively, wore what was referred to as the 'King's usual colours'; or, in other words, the Union Flag of 1606.

In private ships distinction of squadrons was indicated at Algiers in 1620 and at Boulogne in 1625 by the mast at which the pendants were worn. A similar method is suggested in Lord Wimbledon's orders of 1625, squadronal colours being also employed: red (main) for the centre, blue (fore) for the van, and white (mizzen) for the rear; the pendants

1 McMillan and Stewart, *The Story of the Scottish Flag* (1925), p. 10.

2 Several examples are known in flag-plates of a 'Scots Union Flag' (*M.M.*, Vol. v, p. 6, etc.).

3 Except during the Commonwealth decade. The heralds' drawing of 1606 does not exist. Pictures suggest that at first the cross and saltire were rather narrow.

4 The well-known *Prince Royal* pictures of Hampton Court and Hinchbrook; see *M.M.* Vol. III, p. 272.



probably having the usual red cross 'in chief'.<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful if ensigns of the three colours were yet universal in the fleet in 1627, and Callot's etchings of the Rhé affair suggest that English ships were still employing striped ensigns, as Vroom shows us four years earlier. By 1633 ensigns of all three colours were already in use, and it is probable that, by the Civil War, ensigns, as well as flags and pendants, were ordinarily employed for distinction of squadrons. The need for such distinction,<sup>2</sup> which was recognized in 1545 and at that epoch met by the display of the national flag at main, fore, and mizzen mastheads, was thus satisfied by the adoption of the three well-tested colours for ensigns worn on the poop.

Early in the seventeenth century an heraldic tendency manifested itself, which resulted, in some cases, in the replacement of a royal banner by a flag, usually white, which bore a shield of arms, with or without supporters. Such a flag, in this case bearing the heraldic device in a field powdered with fleurs-de-lis, was the French *Pavillon Royal*, or royal standard. Many similar flags were employed in this and in other countries.<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Bouter, writing in about 1634, states that, in a fleet, 'wheresoever the Prince is there in person, or his High Admiral in his room, there is then carried . . . in the main top of the ship . . . the Standart Royal, that is, the Arms and Escutcheon of the Kingdom'.<sup>4</sup> He may have been referring to the older British practice, but his choice of a rather vague phraseology is not inappropriate. We see, in the first incarnation of Hondius's engraving, that the *Navire Royal* of 1626-7<sup>5</sup> wears at her main masthead the *Pavillon* just described; while a picture by Storck<sup>6</sup> of Peter the Great's yacht in 1698 shows a somewhat similar feature; and so does an early eighteenth-century engraving of the yacht of Frederick I of Prussia.

We also find a tendency, in such cases, to place a flag bearing royal arms, cipher and so on at the ensign-staff; and we observe that this has been done in each of the three cases cited above. Such a flag appears at the poop of the *Sovereign of the Seas* of 1637, the mainmast being decorated with the older or Jacobean Royal Standard, but both fore and mizzen with an

<sup>1</sup> When in France at a later date, flags of white, of white-and-blue and of blue were adopted for a *Grande Armée* of three squadrons, or nine divisions) not only coloured command flags, but also broad pendants and pendants of the squadronal colours were worn, the colour indicating the squadron; and the mast, the division.

<sup>2</sup> The need for *national* distinction also was a problem which frequently reasserted itself, e.g. in 1702, 1782, 1794, 1805 and 1914.

<sup>3</sup> The Standards of William III, also Spain, Portugal, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *N.R.S.*, Vol. LXV, p. 270.

<sup>5</sup> Plagiarism was rife in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as we see in the flag-plates also. This ship has several appearances, one in Fournier's *Hydrographie* of 1643. Probably this engraving was made after 1626, when the post of Admiral of France was in suspension until 1669, Richelieu being *Grand Maître et Surintendant* etc.

<sup>6</sup> *M.M.*, Vol. VI, p. 218.

heraldic version analogous to that of the *Navire Royal*. While not forgetting the contemporary use of the Royal Standard by commanders-in-chief, we may perhaps be justified in thinking that ships dressed in this fashion were specially prepared for the reception of the Monarch.<sup>1</sup> Boteler mentions the use of pendants at yard-arms and mastheads 'for triumph and ornament'; and Payne's engraving of the *Sovereign* shows a profusion of pendants so displayed. The ship wears also the 'union jack' at the bowsprit; and it is worthy of notice that the colossal ensign worn at the poop finds accommodation for the entire achievement including the royal supporters. If we are justified in claiming that the engraving shows the *Sovereign of the Sea* dressed to receive King Charles the First, then *ipso facto* it would appear to be established that the ceremonial, so precisely described by Sir John Narbrough in the passage quoted above, was (apart from the pendants common to both occasions) not introduced before the Restoration of King Charles the Second.

The year 1633 saw the birth of the Union Jack.<sup>2</sup> Several examples are known of the use of flags or streamers at the bowsprit-end in medieval and Renaissance ships; and of national, port and corporation flags at later dates. Such a 'smawle little flagg with a Red Crosse' was advocated, if not adopted as a national distinction,<sup>4</sup> on the Cadiz expedition of 1596. Pictorial evidence is inconclusive as to the accepted usage in the interval between 1606 when the *Union* flag was first devised and 1633 when the 'Union Jack' was adopted. In the pictures by Willaerts of the 'Embarkation of the Elector Palatine (1613)' at Windsor and in the National Maritime Museum the *Prince Royal* wears the Royal Standard at the main (signifying the presence of the Lord High Admiral), the Union Flag aft at the ensign staff<sup>5</sup> and (in one picture) what may for brevity be termed a St George's jack at the bowsprit-end. Perhaps this may be regarded as the transitional usage at a period when the proclamation of 1606, enjoining the use of the main masthead for the Union Flag, could not be observed in practice.<sup>6</sup>

1 Late Ordonnances show that the *Pavillon Royal* was employed also as an ensign and as a jack when the Monarch was on board.

2 Meaning the union flag employed as a 'jack'.

3 For example the jack of the Guinea Company.

4 *M.M.*, Vol. 1, p. 97.

5 Where a national flag containing the cross of St George had often appeared under the Tudors.

6 Vroom's picture of the 'Arrival of the Elector Palatine at Flushing (1613)' and his two pictures of the 'Return of the Prince of Wales from Spain (1623)' lend some support to this argument. The first named, which is at Haarlem (I am informed by Mr Gratama, Curator of the Frans Hals Museum) painted in 1623; and the other two, which are respectively at Hampton Court and Hinchbrooke, probably belong to the same period. None of the three shows a Union Flag forward; and in one of them the *Prince Royal* wears a St George's jack at the bowsprit.



When the spritsail topmast began to sprout at the bowsprit-end, a suitable place was clearly indicated for a flagstaff; and in 1633 there are evidences of the employment there of a Union Flag by Sir John Penington in the 'Narrow Seas'.<sup>1</sup> Such a use of it in a naval vessel received official approval; for the Proclamation of 5 May 1634, while no longer insisting on the main masthead as the correct position of this flag, forbade its use on all but H.M. ships. Such vessels, says Boteler, were 'enjoined to wear one of these in a small volume in her boltsprit's Top. And the flags, thus worn, are termed Jacks.'<sup>2</sup> His definition of the correct meaning of 'union jack' can scarcely be bettered. The ships of the Royal Navy continued to be known by that emblem until the Interregnum of 1649.

In 1633 occurred also what I believe to be the birth of the 'Red Standard with the Anchor in it'. Anchors are now familiar features in the naval flags of many countries. The Admiral of France displayed crossed anchors on his command flag in 1736, and probably before. Anchors appeared early also in the flag of the Russian Admiralty, a practice based, no doubt, on Peter the Great's observations in England and Holland. In Holland, particularly, anchors had long characterized the ship-decoration of the Admiralties of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and appeared occasionally in flags also. In this country, as we can see in the *Arke Royall* engraving,<sup>3</sup> an anchor appears in the head of a striped streamer; and in 1623 a reference is found to a flag which contained the badge and motto of the Lord High Admiral. We know from Inigo Jones's surviving sculptures on the Water Gate (Thames Embankment) that Buckingham's badge in 1623 was the 'Foul Anchor'; and a document of 1633 states definitely that the Commissioners' flag, which bore the 'Lo Admirall's badge' was *red*. Until November 1805 there was no full Admiral of the senior colour; if then, it were allowed that red had a claim to preferment, for 'racial' reasons and those of visibility at sea, the choice in 1633 of red for a 'Standard' of chief naval command, was not inappropriate.<sup>4</sup>

The anchor is a well-known charge or badge in heraldry. The earliest example so far observed, however, of an anchor-and-cable, as the emblem of an English naval commander, has recently come into prominence, in connexion with the Church of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, in Clerkenwell. Two panels of a triptych, formerly in the pre-Reformation church and now re-acquired, refer to the Grand Prior of the English

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Sloane MSS. 2682, f. 51. See also *M.M.*, Vol. I, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *N.R.S.*, Vol. LXV, p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> *M.M.*, Vol. III, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> But the anchor-standard was apparently not yet employed as a flag of command. See also *M.M.*, Vol. II, p. 124.

'Langue' at Rhodes.<sup>1</sup> One of these panels contains a golden anchor on a red shield, the cable being black. Mr Perrin in his researches discovered many interesting facts relating to the use of anchors, in seals and other marks of naval authority, both in England and Scotland, dating back to the sixteenth century;<sup>2</sup> and he once drew my attention, when in the Cluny Museum in Paris, to what is probably the first-known example of the u



Fig. 1. Sir John Weston's anchor, fifteenth century.

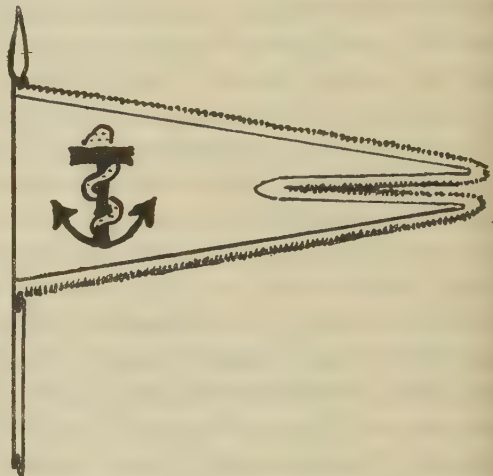


Fig. 2. Coligny's guidon, 1569.

of this emblem in a command flag. In this case the flag is a white guidon bearing a foun anchor in blue and is carried by one of Admiral Coligny's horsemen at Jarnac, in 1569. We have unhappily no evidence as to the exact employment of the English red anchor-standard prior to the Restoration.

The Union of England and Scotland in 1603 was a union of Crowns; accordingly, on the execution of Charles I in 1649, the Union was dissolved. The Council of State thereupon abolished the existing flags and at first ordered flags of St George for the whole of the State's Navy.<sup>4</sup> This meant that all colours which had contained emblems of the Union with Scotland, such as the Standard Royal and the Union flags and jacks, were prohibited.

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Weston, Captain of the Galleys, 1476 to 1489. The Knights Hospitallers, driven from Rhodes by the Turks, were granted the Maltese Islands, by Charles V, c. 1530. I am indebted to Mr Henry Fincham, Assistant Librarian and Curator of the Order, for details concerning these colours, the panels not being open to inspection at the moment of writing (1932).

<sup>2</sup> *British Flags*, p. 82. There is a reference in the same work to the white flag, with blue anchor of the Scottish Lord Admiral; suppressed 1707.

<sup>3</sup> This white guidon of the Admiral of France may be a precursor of those *cornettes blanches* of command, on which the French white ensigns etc. were based.

<sup>4</sup> 22 February 1649. On the following day the red cross was ordered to go *right through* the flag. The second order, signed by Cromwell, is the property of the National Maritime Museum.



would have been quite logical to retain the ensigns; for those of 'South Britain' displayed in the canton the cross of St George only. Contemporary pictures<sup>1</sup> of the First Dutch War show us also that such ensigns were normal during that period. The general principle, as illustrated by the new Anglo-Irish arms on ships' sterns, was now to represent England and Ireland. The evidence for the inclusion of the harp, in the fly of the ensigns, appears, however, to be so slender as to make this once-held theory into, at least, a doubtful possibility; but evidence has accumulated during the last twenty years in support of our belief in an Anglo-Irish jack, as shown in contemporary art,<sup>2</sup> and has indicated also the existence of an Anglo-Irish union flag of command, of precisely similar design.

But, owing to lack of sufficiently conclusive evidence, the whole problem of the Commonwealth flags is still far from a satisfactory solution. One of the principal matters of doubt is the nature of the three red standards which in 1649 were to replace the standard of the Lord High Admiral. On 10 March it was enacted 'that the flagg that is to be borne (sic) by<sup>3</sup> the Admirall vice Admirall Rere Adm<sup>l</sup> be that now presented, viz: the Armes of England and Ireland in two severall Escotchons, in a red flagg<sup>th</sup> in a Compartiment (or)'. The only surviving flag, which bears a resemblance to this description, is entirely red, bearing a laurel wreath around the two shields.<sup>4</sup> It is believed to be a variation of the above; but the exact manner of its employment is so far unexplained. It was previously assumed, however, that the 'compartiment' was a rectangular yellow panel, in which the shields were placed. But no such flag survives. On the other hand, several pictorial evidences are known, which indicate these panels as being circular or oval, though they do not show the wreath. The present available space forbids a discussion of these difficulties; it seems, however, at least possible that the 'usuall flagg' of vice and rear-admirals of the fleet in 1649 was the flag of St George, followed soon after by the Anglo-Irish union 'jack-flag'.<sup>5</sup>

Whatever lingering doubts we may have about the exact appearance of

<sup>1</sup> Provided that due care be used against deception by the 'later hand' (which seeks to bring flag up to date), pictorial evidence is often valuable, in the pre-photographic ages. Neglect of it, where other evidences conflict, has often led searchers on to the wrong path.

<sup>2</sup> *S.N.R. Report* (1931), Plate XII; *Yachting Monthly*, Vol. xv (1913), p. 226. See also sailles by Van de Velde the Elder and others.

<sup>3</sup> These three officers are presumably the three Generals.

<sup>4</sup> It was found at Chatham; is now in the National Maritime Museum; and measures about 12 ft. by 20 ft.

<sup>5</sup> That is, a flag resembling a jack, 'jack' being here used adjectivally. If the phrase 'usuall flagg' be taken as the Commonwealth equivalent of the 'King's usual colours', then the use of national flag, whether St George, the Union Flag or the Anglo-Irish union flag, seems to be quite normal for the two junior commands.

the Commonwealth flags of command, we are on firmer footing when we come to consider where and by whom these flags were worn.<sup>1</sup>

On 26 February 1649, the Council of State appointed Popham, Blakeney and Deane to be 'Generals at Sea', in preference to an 'Admiral' such as Howard of Effingham, or Northumberland, or Warwick. This appointment in no way affected the status of the 'Vice-Admiral' or the 'Rear-Admiral' of the fleet; positions filled at the close of 1652 by Penn and Lawson. Even in the reorganization consequent upon the defeat of the British fleet at the Ness, important modifications were proposed which, for their departure from accepted usage, merit attention.

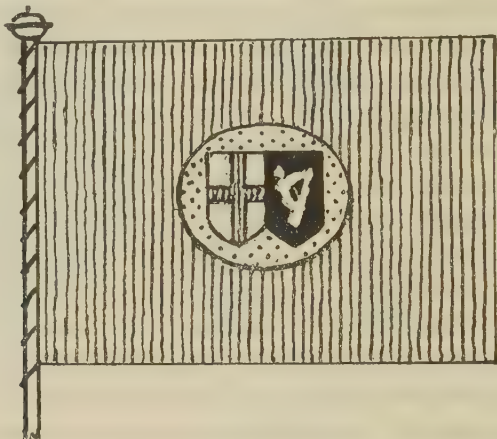


Fig. 3. Probable design of generals' standards, 1653.

The three Generals, instead of acting together, were to take each of them a section (or 'Grand Squadron') of the fleet; and being of co-equal authority, were to wear the same standard at the main masthead, but for distinction to wear underneath it a pendant; the first a red, the second a blue, and the third a white. The Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral of the fleet were to be retained, but no longer as leaders of squadrons; the separation of the Generals in a sense disrating them. Instead, they became 'second in-command;' the senior of the two as Vice-Admiral of the Red squadron and the junior as Vice-Admiral of the Blue; wearing the 'usual flag' (? jack flag) at fore or mizzen respectively to show their permanent status and with red or blue pendant for squadronal distinction. In addition, and appointed for the 'occasion' only, there was to be a Vice-Admiral for the third General's squadron, wearing a white flag in the fore top and a white pendant; and three Rear-Admirals, one for each 'Grand Squadron' wearing the three colours in their mizzen tops and pendants of the same

<sup>1</sup> *M.M.*, Vol. vi, p. 207.



eneath. Ensigns<sup>1</sup> agreed with distinction pendants and command flags, as did the pendants<sup>2</sup> of private ships. From this period also we find traces, at disengaged masts, of the vanes, which in the Royal Navy subsequently followed a similar rule.

In February 1653, the van and rear colours exchanged places. Blue became the rear, or junior, colour and so remained till 1864.<sup>3</sup> At the Battle of Portland, on 18 February, Blake and Deane as First and Second Generals, bore their standard in one ship, employing also the normal red ensign of the centre squadron. Monck, who also wore the Standard as Third General, led the van squadron under the *white* ensign. The Vice-Admiral of the Fleet now hoisted his flag in command of the rear squadron, his flag and ensign being *blue*; and the Rear-Admiral of the Fleet acted as Vice-Admiral of the centre squadron, his red flag being at the fore. Presumably both these officers wore their 'usuall flaggs' also at the appropriate mastheads.

On the re-union of England and Scotland, in 1654, the Lord Protector adopted a Standard for himself, on quasi-regal lines, the first and fourth quarters containing the cross of St George; the second quarter, the saltire of St Andrew; and the third quarter, the harp. Over this appeared, on an escutcheon, Cromwell's own shield, a white lion rampant, on a black ground. In 1658 this Standard replaced the red Standards of the Generals at Sea and the Stuart Union Flags and jacks were reinstated, 'with the addition of the Harpe', which was probably placed on a blue shield,<sup>4</sup> at the centre of the flag.

At the Restoration of 1660, the old flags were revived, together with the office of Lord High Admiral, who in the year following revived also the employment of the 'Red Standard with the Anchor in it'. When in the presence of the King, this flag now became the Standard of command, the royal Standard being required, on such an occasion, for the King's own use.

It is probable that the practice now arose, which we have already said is described by Narbrough and depicted by Van de Velde.

If, on such occasions as that which is the subject of Narbrough's description, the royal ship, or yacht, had the requisite number of masts, the anchor-stand of the Lord High Admiral was hoisted at the fore, and the Union

<sup>1</sup> In other navies there was a general tendency to employ the same ensign throughout. Consequently the colours of their vanes and pendants and the position of the pendants received great attention at subsequent dates. Later informed opinion inclines to the view that the Dutch double-Prince ensigns or flags of the second and third Dutch Wars were no more than an alternate form of the Tricolour. I am indebted to Mr Cannenburg for assistance on this point.

<sup>2</sup> The tricolour (union or common) pendant was also used as an alternative after 1661.

<sup>3</sup> The reason for this enduring change still eludes research.

<sup>4</sup> This is deduced from a contemporary demand for blue bewper required on account of the change (S. P. Dom., Interr., 195, p. 162). See also Pepys's Diary under date 13 May 1660.

Flag at the mizzen, exactly as in Van de Velde's drawing. This practice may have been intended to indicate the vesting of the highest commands in the Sovereign, as head of the Navy. However that may be, the ancient custom survives, having been definitely laid down, in respect of H.M. ships and vessels,<sup>1</sup> following the Order in Council of 3 June 1833.

To-day the Royal Standard is worn by the Sovereign only. Other members of the Royal Family wear their own appropriate standards,<sup>2</sup> either alone, or in conjunction with some other flag to which they are also entitled. Such a flag, bearing the arms of Trinity House was worn by King George I when, some years before his accession, he made his colonial voyage in the *Ophir*, and, later, when he went to Quebec in H.M.S. *Indomitable*. In each case, his own appropriate Standard being at the main, the flag of the Trinity House was hoisted at the fore. A somewhat similar arrangement was seen in H.M.S. *Renown*, when the Prince of Wales visited India in 1921.

We have already seen that Union Flags (or their precursors in a national sense, the red crosses of St George) were freely used, before the Restoration as command flags in English fleets, both small and large. But after the Restoration a change is observable. We still find the Union Flag employed in foreign waters: for example, by the officer commanding in the West Indies in 1690 or in the Mediterranean in 1693. The national emblem could also occasionally play an ambassador's part in home waters; for example, when it was displayed at the masthead of a ship or yacht in which a foreign royalty was embarked.<sup>3</sup> But as indicating the presence of British officers of high rank its use was henceforward narrowly restricted.

In the list drawn up by Pepys, *c.* 1686,<sup>4</sup> the Royal Standard is still mentioned as the proper flag of the Lord High Admiral, and the Union Flag (over a distinction pendant) as that of the Vice and Rear-Admirals.

<sup>1</sup> The wording in subsequent orders suggests that only fighting ships were affected. The custom has always continued, however, in the Royal Yachts also.

<sup>2</sup> Early in Queen Victoria's reign, standards were devised for the Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales; others have been added subsequently. In 1833 members of the Royal Family wore the Royal Standard alone, Queen Adelaide wearing also the Admiralty and Union Flags. The King's three flags appear also in H.M.S. *Gloucester*, in a picture by Danckerts, representing the rescue of the Duke of York, on his way to Scotland in 1682 (National Maritime Museum, acquired 1932). Probably the Duke, no longer Lord High Admiral, wore the King's flags, as his Viceroy in Scotland. Within living memory, it was usual for these flags to be displayed at the masthead of a fighting ship ready for launching, a custom that can be traced back about two hundred years.

<sup>3</sup> It was also flown in Home Waters, when Russell received the Queen of Spain on board in 1703, the display of a foreign flag in a British ship being alien to contemporary etiquette (*M.M.*, Vol. VIII, p. 96).

<sup>4</sup> *M.M.*, Vol. VI, p. 207. Pepys says that pendants are to agree with flags and ensigns. It was usual in the Royal Navy for *vanes* to do so, though a different method obtained in France. Notwithstanding Pepys's ruling, the 'union' or 'common' pendant of 1661 was also worn, alternative use being allowed. The union pendant, however, appears to have gone out shortly before 1800.



England. Union Flags are mentioned as proper to a naval force in which only three flags were worn.<sup>1</sup> But in a fleet of three squadrons, with *nine* flags, the recognized squadronal flags, that is, of red, of white, and of blue, were henceforward to be the normal mode, unless the admiral-of-the-fleet were present in person. He, if Lord High Admiral, would wear the Royal standard; and if not, then the Union Flag.<sup>2</sup> Throughout such a fleet the ensigns were to agree in colour with the normal command colours of red, white and blue. This, then, was the accepted Restoration practice, and it persisted until all the flags became white in July 1864.

As a result of the Test Act of 1673, the Duke of York ceased to be Lord High Admiral of England.<sup>3</sup> Prince Rupert, in the same year, as admiral-of-the-fleet, fought the two battles of the Schoonveldt and the battle of the Medway under the Union Flag. The Admiralty, meanwhile, was in commission; but King Charles, shortly before his death in 1685, himself assumed the Admiral's office; and James II followed his brother's example immediately after his own accession. On this occasion he added a crown to his anchor-standard and an anchor to his red ensign. The Royal Standard was not again displayed in action<sup>4</sup> and the 'Anchor Standard' never once attained to that distinction, although it was worn as a flag of command at sea on three subsequent occasions, the last being in 1869. Since about 1850, however, the 'Red Standard with the Anchor in it', better known as the Admiralty Flag, has floated day and night over the Admiralty in London.<sup>5</sup> When the Lords Commissioners go to sea, the flag is hoisted at the main masthead of the vessel in which they are embarked.

Red ensigns, in Narbrough's day, had already been in existence for half a century, and it is probable that merchantmen and privateers had gradually abandoned their striped and other flags, in favour of the senior Navy colour. Yacht flags, house-flags, etc., form no part of the present study; but it is worthy of remark that owners of yachts, and other privately owned vessels, formerly showed a marked taste for the employment of naval flags.<sup>6</sup> By the

<sup>1</sup> As per Willaerts, 1613, Vroom 1623 and at Boulogne in June 1625. (In the two first-named the senior flag was the Royal Standard.)

<sup>2</sup> Still worn by an admiral-of-the fleet. In Regulations of the first part of the eighteenth century nine flag officers only are mentioned. These took seniority thus: Admiral of the Fleet, Admiral of the White Squadron, Admiral of the Blue Squadron, Vice-Admiral of the Red, the White, the Blue, Rear-Admiral of the Red, the White, the Blue.

<sup>3</sup> He retained the titles of Lord Admiral of Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Tangier, etc.

<sup>4</sup> On the revival of the office in 1702 (placed in commission 1688) the Royal Standard was disallowed.

<sup>5</sup> The Australian Naval Board employs a similar flag, the lower half of the field being blue. At some date undetermined the reds in Royal Standards and Admiralty flags took on the crimson or sanguine colour, which they still display.

<sup>6</sup> For example, the Cumberland Fleet; some of these flags are still preserved by the N.T.Y.C.

Proclamation of 1674 the *status quo* was accepted, in respect of the ensign, which thereupon became proper national colours in the merchant service; merchant vessels were ordered also to wear a St George's, 'white' jack and this custom continued until 1808, and possibly as late as 1824; the modern mercantile jack being the union with a white border. The Royal Navy thus emphasized the distinction between its own flags and those of other ships.

It was in 1674 also that we find the origin of the Commodore's broad pendant.<sup>1</sup> In December, 1674, it was found that no command flag was available for the Commander-in-Chief in the Downs, who was ordered thereupon, to hoist a large red distinction pendant, having a St George's cross in chief. A similar pendant was employed, in another command, in 1695, and a smaller red pendant was worn by a senior naval officer, serving abroad under Lord Dartmouth, in 1684.<sup>2</sup> The resemblance of the red cross in the distinction pendants, to that in the flags of Genoa led in 1690 to the use, by the Mediterranean Commander-in-Chief, of the so-called 'Budgee' distinction pendant. This was similar to that mentioned above but had the union device in place of the red cross;<sup>3</sup> it was again employed, elsewhere in 1693 and in 1697. It was about this time that a small red ensign previously referred to by Pepys as a 'Budgee jack'<sup>4</sup> was given to private ships, which had hitherto wrongly employed the Union. This red jack was authorized by the Proclamation of 1694 and only ceased to exist, with the abolition of privateering, in 1856. The same Proclamation authorized the use, for the first time, of defaced red jacks and defaced red ensigns<sup>5</sup> by ships belonging to Public Offices.

The resemblance of the French ensigns to the white flags of Spain had led in the seventeenth century to the adoption, in the French Navy, of red battle-ensigns, a custom against which Louis XIV hurled his bolts on more than one occasion. In our own white squadron the similarity of ensigns and command flags to those of the French led to a further change in our own arrangements. In February 1702, the ships of the white squadron were

1 Derived from *commandeur*, 1650; *M.M.*, Vol. iv, p. 73. The system of half-pay, which gave a flag-list to the Service, had scarcely begun to operate. Previously flag-officers, other than the three senior admirals, held temporary appointments. The display, by a captain, who had so served, of a 'naked flag-staff', to denote the mast at which he had worn his flag, was a privilege jealously watched by Mr Pepys.

2 The S.N.O.'s (white) pendant, at the mizzen in 1864, went to the starboard topsail yard arm in 1903.

3 I am indebted to Orlogskaptajn P. Holck for an interesting parallel. In order clearly to distinguish themselves from those of Malta, Danish ships going to the Mediterranean in 1775 wore the royal cipher in the centre of their ensigns. For earlier examples of royal ciphers in Danish flags, see *Neptune François*, 1708.

4 'Budgee' is probably derived from Bougie, a town in North Africa. It is the supposed origin of 'burgee'.

5 These became blue in the nineteenth century.



dered to wear an ensign, the fly of which resembled a twentieth-century Austrian ensign,<sup>1</sup> and its flag-officers replaced their plain white flags by the Union. A few weeks later the Lord High Admiral's use of the Royal Standard was discontinued for ever<sup>2</sup> and the first known orders were issued concerning admirals' boat-flags. These were to resemble their command-flags, but to be differenced by one white ball for a vice-admiral and two for rear-admiral,<sup>3</sup> the two being arranged diagonally.<sup>4</sup> In May of the same year the ensigns and command-flags of the white squadron again became white, but with a red cross right through the flag,<sup>5</sup> the boat-flags being differenced by one or two blue balls in the upper canton; the diagonal arrangement was abandoned, in the red and blue squadrons also, for the admirals' boat-flags.

In July 1707, the Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland was marked by a Proclamation, which ordained the continuance of the seventeenth-century Union Flags and jacks. The few remaining Scottish warships were absorbed into the British Royal Navy; and all English and Scottish vessels replaced the St George or St Andrew, in the cantons of their ensigns, by the Union device, this change being reflected also in such flags as the East India Company's 'gridiron' ensign.

No further major change occurred until the Parliamentary Union with Ireland, when a Proclamation, dated 1 January 1801, decreed the use of the present Union Flag and the appearance of a similar device in the first quarter of all the ensigns.

When Henry VIII changed his title from 'Lord' to 'King' of Ireland, he had added a crowned harp to his other badges. Ireland, being disunited, had no national flag in the ordinary sense; the red Geraldine saltire was presumably not a popular emblem, and this may explain the green harp-ensigns, which, though never authorized for maritime use, are found in several flag-books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. None the less, the Geraldine saltire, translated into 'St Patrick's cross',<sup>6</sup> was employed

<sup>1</sup> *M.M.*, Vol. I, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> The Royal Standard is now the exclusive property of the Sovereign.

<sup>3</sup> In the French Navy fleurs-de-lis were employed; *M.M.*, Vol. VIII, p. 9 etc.

<sup>4</sup> As there was no admiral of the Red, the vice-admiral had a plain red flag, and the rear-admiral single white ball.

<sup>5</sup> After the union device had replaced the red cross in the canton in 1707, plain white ensigns were employed, side by side with those which were traversed with the red cross, until 1717 and perhaps as late as 1744.

<sup>6</sup> But St Patrick was not a martyr. The only known example of the Geraldine saltire as maritime flag is in Goghe's map of Ireland (1567, P.R.O.). A similar flag appears, however, in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century flag-plates. It is used now ashore as the flag of Jersey, but no connexion has been established between the two: there are reasons for thinking that Jersey vessels in the eighteenth century sometimes wore the three lions of the Channel Islands as a jack (*Société d'histoire de Jersey Collection, St Helier*).

in the insignia of the Knightly Order of Ireland at the time of its institution in the eighteenth century. There is, therefore, no cause for surprise that it was employed again for the Union Flag of 1801.

In counterchanging the white and red saltires, about the diagonal line which join the corners of the flag, the heralds desired to show that they were really two saltires and to give them approximately equal status. Thus they placed the white saltire of St Andrew, the senior partner, uppermost on the dexter side, the red saltire of St Patrick being uppermost on the other. A white fimbriation had to be inserted, in order to separate the red saltire from the blue field, this being necessary for heraldic reasons (as well as for visibility).<sup>1</sup> The use of this fimbriation makes the flag appear asymmetrical, and, in the naval pattern, it is 'inlaid', or, as it were, folded over inwardly, an arrangement which detracts from the visible width of the red saltire, but equalizes the total widths, on either side of the diagonal lines.

As a compliment to the Royal Navy, after Trafalgar, the rank of Admiral of the Red was instituted. This was in November 1805, and in the year following, commodores were ordered to wear broad pendants of the squadronal colours. This arrangement was altered in 1824 by the introduction of two classes of commodore; the senior wearing a red broad pendant and the junior a broad pendant of blue.<sup>2</sup> A blue ensign, defaced with a crown and the letters 'R.N.R.', was given to the Royal Naval Reserve on its formation in 1861, the fly becoming plain three years later. Ordinary merchant vessels continued to wear their red ensigns and still do so.

The Order in Council, which abolished the three squadronal colours of the Royal Navy, is dated 6 July 1864. The flags of the white squadron only were retained henceforth, and commodores of the Second Class now wore their broad pendants at the fore, and a red ball in the canton when in boats. The balls changed from blue to red in the admirals' boat-flags and, in the case of rear-admirals, were rearranged in 1898 in their present disposition where one red ball is in the upper and one in the lower canton, next the mast. As masts diminished in number with the development of steam, it became impossible always to keep flags at their appropriate mastheads; the balls (or in other navies, stars, etc.), which were originally intended only for boat-flags, were now permanently recognized for all purposes and so remain.<sup>3</sup>

1 One of the flags of the International Code (in force January 1934) suffered through neglect of this essential of sea-armory (see *Studio*, Vol. LVIII, p. 90).

2 When two commodores of the First Class were in company, the junior wore a white broad pendant, traversed with a red cross: this was universally employed after July 1864.

3 In the Royal Navy, a rear-admiral's flag went to the fore in a two-masted ship: in the French Navy, to the main. The situation has become still further affected by the development of wireless which has reduced all pendants (except 'paying off' pendants) to miniature proportions.



Other important changes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were the employment of the Blue Ensign, with the appropriate badge in the fly, 7 ships belonging to the various Public Offices;<sup>1</sup> and, since 1892, the granting to the Dominions of an ensign, blue *or red*, containing their own peculiar badges. In 1913 the ships of the Royal Australian and Royal Canadian Navies were permitted each to wear this Dominion blue ensign on a jack, the ensigns, command-flags and pendants being those of the Royal Navy.

Most students of this subject appear hitherto to have skimmed somewhat lightly over its material side. In later years, however, Mr W. G. Perrin and Prof. Callender<sup>2</sup> gave to the world the benefit of their own researches into some of the difficulties which this aspect of the subject presents. It is only when we attempt to reconstruct ancient sea-flags in bunting, or other material, that the real difficulties present themselves.<sup>3</sup>

Heraldry commenced in the twelfth century; and the earliest heraldic banners were probably painted and affixed to a staff or lance. Oil colours were probably used; and, provided that the material was sufficiently opaque, the design could be arranged so as to appear correctly on the reverse side. Banners were, at first, shorter in the fly than in the hoist; and, by the middle of the sixteenth century, were frequently square. Those employed at sea gradually became longer, until national flags attained to proportions averaging three in the fly to two in the hoist.<sup>4</sup> The pendants, which long retained the two tails, which they inherited from their ancestor, the Tudor streamer, took on their present form after the Napoleonic Wars. The proportions of the crosses and saltires in the British Union Flags and ensigns and their correct arrangement are clearly set forth in *Flags of All Nations*; and this official work and its foreign contemporaries give all the necessary proportions of the chief maritime flags employed in the world to-day.

Since a medieval battle at sea consisted of a series of hand to hand struggles, it need not surprise us to observe, in contemporary art, that the flags employed on deck at sea closely resemble those carried on land; and the staff, or lance, to which the sea-banners were affixed could presumably

<sup>1</sup> Ships in the Public Services of Crown Colonies were permitted to wear the Colonial badge on a blue ensign in 1866. The Indian Navy and its 'gridiron' ceased to exist in 1863, and the Indian Marine subsequently wore the Star of India in the blue ensign and a blue-bordered jack.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey Callender, *The Portrait of Peter Pett and the Sovereign of the Seas*.

<sup>3</sup> I recently encountered this difficulty when asked to supply designs and working drawings for eight ancient French maritime flags in connexion with the Colonial Exhibition of 1931 at Vincennes: see Bulletin 4 of 1931 and Bulletin 1 of 1932 of the 'Association des Amis du Musée de la Marine'.

<sup>4</sup> The proportions of modern British ensigns are two in the fly to one in the hoist.

be erected, or removed, in a small ship without difficulty. Flag-halyards, then, do not appear to enter into the question even in the later Middle Ages. The colours were permanently nailed to the staff, which was pushed through a tube (or 'socket') attached to the dexter side of the flag, or obtained by folding the edge of the flag over upon itself.

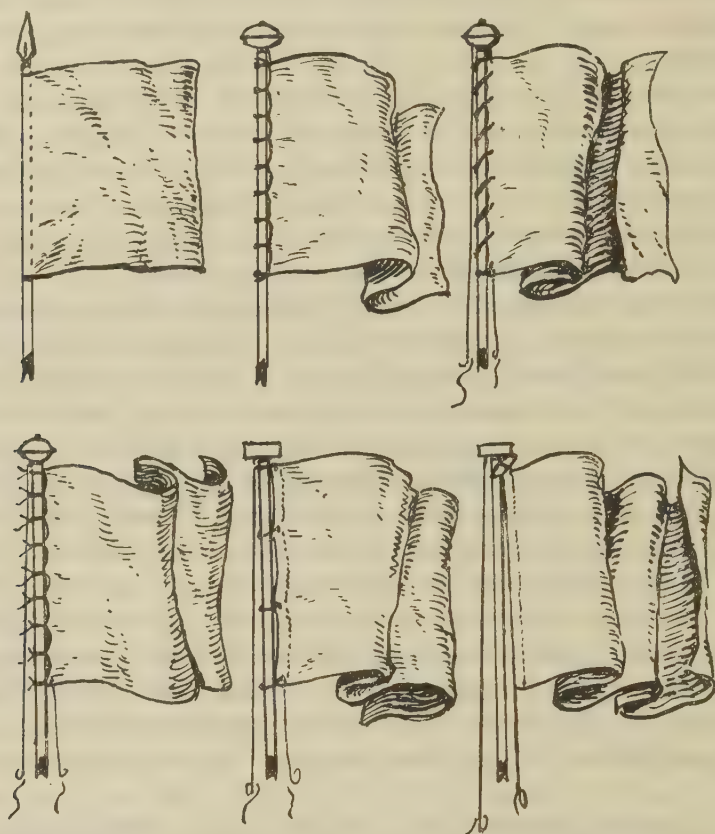


Fig. 4. Methods of flag hoisting, thirteenth century to the present day.

As vessels became larger, the flag-staffs followed suit and acquired a more permanent character. The flags increased in size until, late in the seventeenth century, we find the poop ensign of a French flagship measuring not far short of 60 ft. by 40 ft.<sup>1</sup> No explanatory working drawings of these flag-halyards survive; but we can see, from pictures and engravings dating back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, traces of what are evidently flag-halyards. We can see also that the hoist of any of these large flags was not at frequent intervals secured to the mast by loops, lacings, or short pieces of

<sup>1</sup> De Bouillé, *Les Drapeaux Français* (1875), p. 237.



arn, tied in a knot or a slip knot.<sup>1</sup> The flag-staffs were sometimes of iron; and, in the case of masthead flags, the halyards at first came down no lower than the top or the cross-trees. In Van de Velde's drawing of 1672, with reference to which this article opened, we can see that the Royal Standard on the royal yacht, which was hauled down when the King proceeded on board the *Prince*, is blowing out in a thin wisp above the topmast. This is presumably due to the fact that there was not as yet time to send a man aloft to clear the loops', which held the flag to the staff and which were thus lunched together at the foot. We know of similar cases in contemporary art; and we have evidence that a like difficulty with a signal-flag caused serious misadventure in tactics. Such delays were afterwards avoided by leading the halyards down on deck and abolishing the loops.

Flags appear to have reached their zenith of magnificence late in the seventeenth century, as did the carving and gilding of ships. A gradual process of diminution seems then to have set in, which continued during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the largest British ensign of 1742 being 51 ft. long and that of to-day 33 ft.

When the driver or spanker was introduced into small vessels during the eighteenth century, their ensign-staff was fitted only when at anchor, the ensign being hoisted at the peak when under way; and this practice became general, as large ships also abandoned the mizzen-yard for the gaff towards the century's end. This change involved the adoption of the modern method of hoisting a flag, whereby it can blow out quite freely, below the truck, from a canvas binding or heading which secures it along its hoist, to a short rope; the halyards being secured to either end of the rope by a toggle and becket, the vertical strain on them keeping the hoist upright.

For many years the ensign remained at the peak in fighting ships under way. On the arrival of the *Dreadnought* era, early in the present century, many of our own ships and some foreign navies abandoned this custom, keeping the ensigns always at the ensign-staff. During the War of 1914-18, the ensign went back to the peak (for all occasions) or to the after superstructure, or to some other prominent place. Subsequently, ships of the Royal Navy returned to the pre-war method, and the ensign has thus gone back to its original home as fixed in the seventeenth century.

The Jack disappeared from the spritsail topmast, when that fitting was abolished during the eighteenth century, and was then worn only when ship was at anchor or in port. When worn it was hoisted either to a block seized to one of the forestays, or to a short staff fixed into the bowsprit. This

<sup>1</sup> A good example is the well-known engraving of Winstanley's Eddystone Lighthouse, 1700.

bowsprit method was still employed in vessels which were so fitted;<sup>1</sup> but as sails disappeared from fighting ships in the nineteenth century, the jack-staff was planted inboard, in the bows, the bowsprit having disappeared also. Except in time of war, when the wide arc of modern turret-guns renders a clear deck essential, the jack and ensign-staffs are semi-permanent fixtures.

Inventories of the late Middle Ages tell us that the materials employed in making flags were extremely varied. We find that they could be manufactured out of sendal, silk, linen, worsted, sindon and other fabrics, a variety as wide as that of the streamers and flags of French galleys late in the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> A woollen cloth called 'say' occurs in the sixteenth-century inventories, and it is at least possible that this is the direct ancestor of that more durable material, which became the 'bewpers' of the seventeenth century and the 'bunting' of to-day.

Our last problem is the manner of making up the flag and of displaying it to advantage. The design in early days was 'primed, painted, and coloured in oil colours', a free use being made, where necessary, of gold and silver. This use of paint has continued till our own day; but has gradually been replaced for the larger, or simpler, portions of a design by pieces of coloured bunting sewn together; paint to-day being usually employed only for the indication of small details. A flag of the modern kind, however, is at a disadvantage compared with a painted flag, because the design cannot be correctly displayed on both sides. Unless it is perfectly symmetrical in its lay-out, it is bound to be reversed on one side. We have, however, become thoroughly accustomed to this method; indeed the British flags, preserved at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, show us that jacks and ensigns were made up of coloured material during the seventeenth century. Probably the same practice existed even earlier.<sup>3</sup>

In the fourteenth century flag-material was about a yard in width; but since then has shown a general tendency to decrease. In Pepys's day we find that 'bewper' was 23 in. wide; this width being cut in half to form a 'breadth' of 11 in. The breadth in 1708 was 10 in. and to-day it is 9.

<sup>1</sup> H.M. Yacht *Victoria and Albert* had a short bowsprit.

<sup>2</sup> The only working drawings of ancient sea-flags which I have discovered are (a) those of the French galleys here mentioned; and (b) the French ensigns of 1790 and 1794. For (a) see Commandant Vivielle and G. la Roërie, *Navires et Marins*, Vol. 1, p. 126, etc., quoting information contained in MSS, concerning the building of Galleys, of which one is in the National Maritime Museum and the other in the Hydrographic Library, Paris: for (b) *M.M.* (July 1932), Vol. xviii, pp. 229-40.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest surviving sea-flags, noted as made up of coloured material, date from about 1650. Detail was sometimes added by sewing on other material, on *both* sides: I have noted an eighteenth-century flag of St Malo, where the 'hermine' is so added. In 1790, the same expedient was used, for the French ensigns, but only as a temporary measure; *M.M.*, Vol. xviii, pp. 229-40.



Multiples of this are also woven, in order where necessary to economize the labour of sewing. This breadth of 9 in. is treated as a standard of measurement in this country, where ensigns and other flags are usually twice as long in the fly as in the hoist; thus an ensign of 12 'breadths' is 9 ft. wide by 18 ft. long. Command and signalling flags are shorter in proportion.<sup>1</sup> Dutch flags of the seventeenth century seem to have had breadths very similar to our own,<sup>2</sup> and we have exact measurements of the French flags of 1790 and 1794, which show us that the plain white ensigns were made in breadths of 30 in.; and coloured material, usually required for smaller flags or details, in material of 18 in. or less. As to the change from painted flags to those made up of dyed material we must conclude that this occurred through a realization of the fact that the painted are less durable.

Several excellent books have been published, on the flags of the world, or on those of one nation alone, prominent among the former being that of Admiral Siegel.<sup>3</sup> Many years will probably elapse before later researches into the flags of the British Empire, will provide any considerable addition to the knowledge contained in the late Mr Perrin's standard work on that aspect of the subject.<sup>4</sup> It is, however, becoming increasingly apparent that, for original research into flags *in general*, a large field is still open, a field which is necessarily encumbered by those obstacles of language and travel, which are inseparable from a voyage of discovery on international territory.

[Mr Cecil King, T.D., R.I., R.O.I., died in 1942. He wrote the foregoing article in 1932 as a chapter for the 'Maritime Miscellany', and revised it in 1938. For the original work he painted three superb coloured sheets of flags; needless to say, we cannot reproduce these, and indeed it is hard to believe that the Society could have afforded to reproduce them even in 1932, in view of the costs of colour printing. References to these flag sheets have therefore been omitted in the text, but their omission has made no difference to the sense. Ed., M.M.]

<sup>1</sup> For details of proportions see *Flags of All Nations*.

<sup>2</sup> Mr G. C. E. Crone kindly gave me the benefit of his own researches into this detail.

<sup>3</sup> Vize-Admiral Siegel, *Die Flagge* (Berlin, 1912). See also the works named in the footnotes to this article, and De Waard, *De Nederlandsche Vlag* (1900); Brancaccio, *Le Bandiere del Regno di Sardegna* (1910); McCandless and Grosvenor, *Flags of the World* (1917).

<sup>4</sup> W. G. Perrin (Admiralty Librarian) *British Flags* (1922).

## 'GILBERT WARDLAW'S ALLEGATIONS'

*By Commander R. D. Merriman, R.I.N.*

THE administration of the Navy as carried on, prior to 1832, by two Boards, viz. the Admiralty and the Navy Board, was never a very smoothly working affair. For a diversity of reasons, among which politics played a considerable part, friction was particularly marked during the decade which followed the Revolution of 1688.

The case dealt with in the documents referred to below<sup>1</sup> provides a typical example of the relations existing between the two Boards. Though the inquiry set on foot by the Admiralty was ostensibly, in the public interest, it is equally certain that it was inspired by private malice. This aspect would not, in itself, justify more than a passing mention of 'The Wardlaw Affair', were it not for the fact that the course of the inquiry reveals much besides. The light incidentally thrown on the domestic economy of the Navy Office, the surroundings in which its people worked, and the manner in which its day-to-day business was carried on is of some value and, it is hoped, will be of interest to readers of this *Journal*.

The circumstances were as follows: In the latter half of the year 1699 the Navy Board had occasion to dispense with the services of a clerk named Gilbert Wardlaw. Wardlaw, who appears to have nourished a grievance, at once approached a member of the Admiralty Board with an offer to expose what he alleged to be fraudulent mismanagement by the Navy Board of the contingency funds of that office. The commissioner of the Admiralty to whom this offer was made was Sir John Thompson, Lord Haversham, a violent Whig, whose enmity to the Navy Board was well known.<sup>2</sup> Haversham lost no time in causing the matter to be taken up. As a first step, Wardlaw was empowered to return to the Navy Office and there call for any books, papers or accounts he pleased; nor do their Lordships seem to have felt any delicacy in directing the Principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy to produce these documents and to assist him in every way, to make out a case against themselves.

The result was a report of formidable length entitled 'Gilbert Wardlaw's Observations' dated 27 December 1699 and addressed to the Lords

<sup>1</sup> Forming part of the Sergison Collection of MSS. preserved in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

<sup>2</sup> The other members of the Admiralty Board were: John, Earl of Bridgwater, and Admirals Sir George Rooke, Sir David Mitchell and George Churchill.



Commissioners of the Admiralty. This was duly transmitted to the Navy Board for their remarks. The reply from the Navy Board dated 8 February 1699/1700 is even more voluminous, and traverses Wardlaw's allegations item by item. It is signed by Sir Cloudisley Shovell (Comptroller of Victualling Accounts); Daniel Furzer (Surveyor of the Navy); Charles Sergison (Clerk of the Acts); Thomas Willshaw (Comptroller of Store-keeper's Accounts); Dennis Lyddell (Comptroller of Treasurer's Accounts); and Messrs John Hill and Benjamin Tymewell, extra commissioners. Of these, the two individuals most closely concerned were Sergison and Lyddell. It was from Lyddell's office that Wardlaw had been dismissed, and Lyddell therefore became a target for attack. Charles Sergison, in his capacity as Clerk of the Acts, was in a particularly vulnerable position. In addition to his secretarial duties, he would be closely concerned with the selection, allocation, promotion and discharge of the clerical staff, the accounting for contingent funds, and the housekeeping and internal economy of the Navy Office generally. Space forbids more than a bare reference to the character of this able official, who had been trained under Pepys and who laboured faithfully from 1689 to 1719 to maintain the sound principles of naval administration inculcated by his old master.<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt that the detailed and effective rejoinder to Wardlaw's allegations is his drafting.

It will be convenient to note here that the office of the Treasurer of the Navy was not situated in the same building as the Navy Office and that Wardlaw reviews the expenditure of each, generally to the disadvantage of the Navy Office. Lyddell's function (that of Comptroller of Treasurer's Accounts) was a branch of the office of the Comptroller of the Navy, charged with the duty of auditing the Treasurer of the Navy's accounts, and situated in the Navy Office building. It was not a part of the Treasurer's department. As the style in which the correspondence is written is often long-winded and obscure, it is here presented in a condensed form preserving, as far as possible, the language of the original and indicating by inverted commas what has been transcribed *verbatim*. The spelling has been modernized.

One further point must be dealt with in this preface in explanation of the first three clauses of the 'Allegations'. If these, as set out by Wardlaw, do not seem very clear, we have the satisfaction of knowing that we are in good company, for the Lords of the Admiralty, to whom they were addressed, were equally at a loss. Wardlaw's explanation, as furnished in the *Addendum*, may have enlightened their Lordships, but that the matter may

<sup>1</sup> For further details of Sergison's life and work, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, also *The Sergison Papers* edited by the present writer, for the Navy Records Society 1949.

be more easily comprehensible to the modern reader the following note is here appended, viz.:

Owing to the financial chaos in which the country laboured during the period following the Revolution of 1688, great difficulty was experienced in buying naval stores. The only method by which the Navy Board was able to support its credit with the merchants who purveyed the stores was by guaranteeing 'payment in course', i.e. payment of outstanding bills in strict rotation, as and when money became available. Wardlaw alleges that the Navy Board paid certain favoured individuals out of their turn and from the Office contingency money. This not only side-steps the whole principle of 'payment in course' but runs the Navy Office short of ready money to pay a particular class of bill, viz. bills of exchange drawn on the Board by officers on foreign stations, for comparatively small amounts and which ought to have been settled out of contingent funds. As a result, these bills were held up until the due date was exceeded, which led to an objection by the Treasurer of the Navy. An astonishing feature of the case is the extent to which large sums of money were handled by the Messenger of the Navy Office. By long established custom, disbursement of Contingency Money was almost entirely carried out by this functionary, to whom the money was imprested. Wardlaw says that when ordered to pay the bills of 'favourites' out of contingency money, the Messenger recoups the amount from the Treasurer of the Navy when, at last, the bill comes up for payment in its proper turn, but that no record is kept of these transactions.

*'Gilbert Wardlaw's observations on the Contingency Expenses of the Navy Office and Treasurer of the Navy's Office<sup>1</sup> for the Past Twelve Years.' Copy forwarded to the Navy Board from the Admiralty under date 27th December 1699, for the Navy Board's remarks*

The writer has examined the vouchers of the Messengers of these two Offices in regard to their disbursements since 1688 and proposes to report in detail on the excessive expenditure, in order to substantiate the charges of extravagance which he has already made to their Lordships respecting those two Offices, 'to the best of my judgment and from my own experience in the office'.

'The Treasurer's office seems to have been pretty reasonable in comparison with the other' for, after deducting the charges for conveyance of money, stationery and repairs, the expenditure on contingencies has amounted to about £3000 for these eleven years, whereas the Navy Office has spent nearly £16000 over the same period. It is observed that:

<sup>1</sup> The Navy Office was in Seething Lane, Crutched Friars. The Treasurer of the Navy's establishment (more generally known as 'the Pay Office'), was in Broad Street, Austin Friars.



(1) Most of the money has been appropriated from the funds assigned for paying 'bills of exchange drawn on his Majesty for naval services abroad, whereby that branch of the public credit has consequently suffered'.

(2) Several bills were registered for payment in course, but were in fact settled out of contingency money. No record, however, is to be found of these transactions in the Messenger's accounts, he merely receiving back the money from the Treasurer when it came in course for payment. This is irregular and 'a mismanagement of that Board by misapplying the Treasure'.

(3) 'The Messenger of the Navy Office hath not yet taken up any of these, his imprests with his perfect bills, that have been allowed him by the Navy Board; and it having been the method of my Lord Orford's<sup>1</sup> accountancy not to give himself credit on the Ledger for any imprest moneys advanced by his lordship to officers or dealers in the Navy, but the perfect bills made out by the Navy Board with the services for which those imprests were taken [entered] on the perfect bill to prevent a double payment for one service. Therefore, this sum for contingencies for 11 years past hath not yet been brought to account, which (as I humbly conceive) may be the reason that it was not inquired into before.'

(4) 'The expenses [of the two offices] has been very profuse and unjust in the following items:

*Navy Office Repairs* £431. 5. 3d. the rest on the course.' What has been paid for on the course of the Navy, forms the greater part of the whole cost incurred and is outside the scope of the inquiry, but seeing that the Office and houses have not been built above 15 years, expenditure at this rate seems uncalled for.

(5) '*Treasurer of the Navy's Office repairs.* £3495. 7. 5d. and some on the course.' This sum vastly exceeds the expenditure on the repairs to the Navy Office, though the Treasurer's is the smaller building. Though allowance be made for the latter being an old house when it was taken over and 'being very unfit for a public office, yet it's supposed there might have been spared several of those fine paintings, carvings etc, as may appear by the tradesmen's bills'.

(6) '*Navy Office, postage of letters:* £3609. 14. 10d.'

The clerks of the Navy Office as well as some of their friends have taken the privilege of enjoying free postage, both inwards and outwards for their

<sup>1</sup> Edward Russell, Admiral of the Blue, Treasurer of the Navy 1689-99 in which year he resigned. He was Senior Lord of the Admiralty 1694-7, in addition to his other posts. The House of Commons in their address to William III in April 1699 remarked 'that it was inconsistent with the service of the Navy' for one and the same person to be one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Treasurer of the Navy. Russell was created Earl of Orford in 1697.

private correspondence as well as packets of newspapers, 'which is demonstrable by the exact correspondence between the increase and decrease of the postage and newspapers in the several years expense'. The loss of the itemized accounts kept as a check on the Messenger up to the year 1696 has made it impossible to distinguish the postal charges for the Board's letters from those of others; but working on the figures available from 1696 onwards it is possible to deduce, from the cost of inward postage on letters addressed to individual clerks, that at least half the total postage charges of the office has been applied to private correspondence, as follows, viz.:

'The Charge of letters Inward

	For the Board	Clerks etc.
The year 1696	£137. 0. 9d.	£145. 2. 8d.
Midsummer Qr. 1697	24. 7. 5	30. 10. 5
" 1698	20. 11. 11	35. 5. 8
" 1699	21. 4. 8	35. 17. 11

(7) '*Treasurer's Office Postage*: £134. 6. 8d.'

The Treasurer's Office cannot be compared with the Navy Board's, the volume of correspondence being different, and the clerks not having the privilege of free outward postage.

(8) '*Navy Office Penny Post<sup>1</sup> Letters*: £154. 1. 1d.'

Here also the Navy Office clerks have the privilege of free postage, and it cannot be imagined why there should be half this sum charged on this article when there has been porters constantly employed with letters and so much paid for postage within the bounds of the penny post'.

(9) '*Navy Office. Carriage of Muster Books and Boxes*, £1644. 4. 11d.

This expense was small during the first years, by reason of the few ships at sea', but the war is not sufficient excuse for the subsequent great increase.

(10) '*Navy Office. Porters' Errands*, £834. 11. 1d.

The greatest part of the accounts that were kept as a check on the Messenger in this part of his disbursements is now lost', and it is not possible from the existing ones to distinguish which are on the King's account and which on the clerks'. It is humbly proposed that 3 or 4 extra porters at £20 per annum each be engaged, which should show a net saving of £250 p.a. on this item.'

<sup>1</sup> The Penny Post was first set up by Robert Murray, an upholsterer, in 1681. He assigned his interest in it to one Dockwra, a merchant, in 1683; but on a trial at the King's Bench it was adjudged to belong to the Duke of York as a branch of the General Post and was thereupon annexed to the revenue of the Crown, 1690. It became a twopenny post in 1794 and remained at that rate till Rowland Hill's reform in 1839.



(11) '*Treasurer's Office. Porters' Errands, £374. 13. 11d.*'

This sum is much less than that incurred by the Navy Office, though the Treasurer's business with that office, the Exchequer, Bank etc., is probably as great, if not more.

(12) '*Navy Office. Small Errands, £984. 11. 3d.*'

This works out at £40 or £50 per quarter spent on small journeys for porters at 3d. or 6d. on each occasion, which is an extravagant expenditure, unless it includes the clerks' private errands, considering that there are two messengers (William and Elizabeth Moorfoot) permanently borne on the office establishment.

(13) '*Navy Office. Firing, £1558. 0. 0d.*'

Up to 1695 the total number of chimneys in the Navy Office and at the Housekeeper's was 15. From then onwards 'there have been about 25 which have fires but from October to April'. Three of these are supposed to burn Scotch coal and billets, 'so that in the year 1696 there were but 22 fires that burned sea coal, for which there was bought 30 chaldrons'. In 1698 this quantity was exceeded by 55 chaldrons for the same number of fires. In 1699, 65 chaldrons<sup>1</sup> were used. 'The abuse is plain.'

Although, while the writer was in the office, Scotch coal was burnt only in the Board Room and Mr Lyddell's office, the cost of this item is more than half that of the other quality, and from 1693 onwards there has been very little difference in the charge of the two kinds, 'though the one was for the use of the whole office and the other but for the Board Room and the Commissioner's office. But the most remarkable piece of extravagance is that the charge of charcoal for lighting fires is more than half of the whole firing for the Navy Office, and in the year 1699 it cost more than all the other firing.'

'It cannot be imagined that 2340 bushels of coal in the year 1699 should require 2331 bushels of charcoal for lighting the fires a' mornings.' The Treasurer's office charge is but 30 shillings a year for similar grade fuel for nearly the same number of fires, 'but these coals being of Mr Lyddell's growth in the country, and served into the office by his tenants, is the best reason I can find for it'.

(14) '*Navy Office Candles, £261. 0. 4d. out of Contingent Money and £1367. 6. 8d. on the course.*'

This charge was removed from the contingent account to 'payment in course' in the year 1692. That their Lordships may see the extravagance on this item, the writer appends a statement<sup>2</sup> compiled from the chandler's bills paid in course, showing the expenditure between 1689 and 1699. This

1 A chaldron = 25½ cwt.

2 Omitted here.

shows a steady increase from 319 dozen [lb.] costing £73. 17. 4d. in 1689 to 848 dozen, costing £225. 14. 0d. in 1694, and thence declining to 439 dozen costing £130. 10. 0d. in 1699.

The writer estimates one dozen pounds a fair expenditure for one night office use, which works out at 4015 dozen pounds for 11 years. Deduct from this one-quarter for the summer season, leaving 3011 dozen pounds. From this deduct 572 Sundays, and there remains but 2439 dozen pounds which, at the office prices, costs £654. 6. 3d. nett, for the 11 years. Compare this with the total shown on the bills for the same period, viz. 6070 dozen pounds costing £1628. 7. 0d.

(15) '*Navy Office Parish Duties, £592. 7. 2d.*'

This is a tax payable by the inhabitants of dwellings, but in the case of the six Commissioners dwelling in the Navy Office, their tax has been paid out of the office contingency money, which tax covers the tax on their own living quarters as well as that on the office. This is irregular. 'The only way to compute how much' the King has been cheated of 'is by taking from the full sum paid one-sixth part for the Office (for which his Majesty is assessed as an inhabitant) in consideration of its being larger and rated at a greater rent than any one of the 6 Commissioners' houses, and the remainder will show the sum £493. 12. 8d.

[i.e. From]	£592. 7. 2d.
Deduct 1/6th for his Maj.	98. 14. 6d.
For his Majesty's wrong	<u>£493. 12. 8d.</u>

(16) '*Navy Office Coach Hire and Entertaining, to the Board and Respective Commissioners, £2554. 7. 10d.*'

Their Lordships will no doubt realise 'the profuseness hereof when the greatest part, for dinners, has been spent in town, as may appear from these vouchers'. It is remarked 'that there has been very many dinners at the Ship Tavern in Gracechurch Street, which is near the Navy Office, besides other taverns in the town, and one particularly, last summer, at the Rummer in Queen Street, of about £12, paid for out of this money. The sums against the several Commissioners' names, for coach hire and entertainment have been paid to them upon their own receipts, sometimes with the Board order, but oftener without, and £400 to Mr Lyddell and Mr Sergison without any order or account, except one or two for about £20. The reason that these sums of money were separated in the account, from the others for coach hire and entertainment was [that] in my opinion, the surviving Commissioners are accountable for them, as well as any others ought to be.'



(17) '*Navy Office Newspapers*, £635. 19. 2d.'

'The extravagance here needs very little explanation. A reasonable allowance for a set of [Parliamentary] Acts and Votes, and 12d. a week for newspapers should suffice.' This, for 11 years, should not have exceeded £20 for the former and £28. 12. 0d. for the latter, whereas, a charge of £635. 19. 2d for these items has been incurred.

(18) '*Navy Office Chocolate*, £111. 6. 9d.'

'This charge has not been brought into the Navy much above 2 years which is about £50 per annum and, in my opinion, a very extravagant breakfasting for the Board. However, I think I may venture to place all this sum to his Majesty's wrong.'

(19) '*Navy Office, Incidents*, £1660. 6. 4d.

Neither hath this article been without extravagance for, though I have not kept an exact account of every particular contained therein, yet for your Lordships' satisfaction I have collected the most material charges thereof, viz.:

Watching and Warding at the Office Gate	£440.	0.	0d.
Looking after the garding [ <i>sic.</i> ]	47.	0.	0
A salary to an Under-Messenger of £20 p.a. to the year 1685, at which time it was transcribed to the book	120.	0.	0
Brooms, and cleaning the Office, about £20 p.a. to the year 1695, at which time it ceased, the House-keeper then having an additional salary of £40 p.a. given her for this service	120.	0.	0
Box Money <sup>1</sup>	30.	0.	0
Extra charity and briefs <sup>2</sup>	60.	0.	0
Bonfires	42.	0.	0
Looking after the Clock at Deptford Yard	35.	0.	0
Sealing Seamen's Tickets & Protections	50.	0.	0
King's Tax for Commissioners' Barge House	6.	0.	0
Paid Capt. Collins <sup>3</sup> for his Book of Sea Coasts	11.	0.	0
Rent of New River Water	110.	0.	0
Hire of Lamps	80.	0.	0
Other petty charges not taken notice of	509.	6.	4
	<hr/> £1660. 6. 4d. <hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> That is, gratuities.

<sup>2</sup> That is, petitions.

<sup>3</sup> Grenville Collins, Captain R.N., younger brother of Trinity House, and one of the earliest and most distinguished of English hydrographers (*fl.* 1679-93). In 1681 he was ordered to survey and chart the coasts of the kingdom, a task which occupied him 7 years. His *Great Britain's Coasting Pilot* was published in 1693. (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.* q.v.).

Wherein, in my opinion, there appears to have been paid in his Majesty's wrong:

For extra charities & Briefs	£60.	0.	0d.
Bonfires	42.	0.	0
	£102.	0.	0d.

(20) 'Navy Office. Making Stairs into the Church Gallery, £19. 6. 0d.

This charge, noways belonging to his Majesty, is accounted in his wrong.

(21) 'Navy Office. Repairing the Church by an over-assessment for the Poor. £92. 6. 8d.

That part that was paid for the six Commissioners' dwellings in the Navy Office was in his Majesty's wrong. And abating for the office, wherein his Majesty was assessed as an inhabitant 1/6th part (as in the other Parishes Taxes) it being bigger than any one of the Commissioners' houses, and therefore assessed at a greater rent, the remainder will show the sum of £76. 13. 4d.,

viz.:	£92.	0.	0d.
Abating for the Office	15.	6.	8
	76.	13.	4'

(23)<sup>2</sup> 'Navy Office. Upholsterer's work in the Commissioners' Peppercorn. £11. 2. 4d.

This charge, in my opinion, ought to have been defrayed by themselves.

(24) 'Navy Office. Paid for Stamps for Masters' Warrants, for Mr Peters. £150. 0.

Mr Peters is a Navy Office clerk who makes out masters' warrants. The masters pay Mr Peters for the stamp at the time of taking up their warrants. No debit has ever been raised against Mr Peters for these sums, though the amount, £150 was paid him 5 or 6 years ago.

(25) 'Navy Office. Linen for Commissioner Willshaw; £27. 12. 6d.

There is no order or account for what use this linen was produced. And there being linen bought for the Hill House,<sup>1</sup> and within 2 years

<sup>1</sup> The Hill House at Chatham is mentioned as early as 1570 as being 'furnished for the use of the Lord Admiral and the officers of the Navy'. (Oppenheim, M. in *Victoria County History, Kent*, Vol. II, p. 341, quoting *Pipe Office Declared Accounts*). The house is referred to on several occasions in Pepys's Diary, during which period it seems to have been a dockyard office. It was used as a yard pay office after c. 1750 and was eventually pulled down when the Marine Barracks were extended in 1803-5.

<sup>2</sup> Item (22) is missing from original, but will be found dealt with on p. 125 below, numbered (21).

afterwards, for the *Charlotte* yacht, which attends on the Commissioners at pays', the reason for this item is not understood.

(26) '*Navy Office. A Gratuity to the Stationers for a Present of some Charts, £22.*

Your Lordships may please to observe how grateful and liberal these gentlemen are of the King's money. But it being for no service in the Navy, I account it in his Majesty's wrong.'

(27) '*Navy Office. Paid Mr Crawley and Mr Colby £1042. 10. 0d.*

These two gentlemen are clerks in the Navy Office,' and it is not understood why this contingent item should not have been paid out by Mr Marlowe, the Messenger, like other contingent sums. No particulars are recorded, the order for payment merely reading: 'We direct you to pay to Mr \_\_\_\_\_ to be disposed of for his Majesty's service.'

(28) '*Navy Board. Paid in 1696 as tax on the employments of 6 Commissioners & Clerks: £150.*'

The 6 Commissioners were: Sir Richard Haddock, £37. 10. 0d.; Messrs Sotherne, Lyddell, Pett, Dummer and Sergison, £22. 10. 0d. each. This payment is irregular.

(b) '*Navy Office. [Paid] As tax on all the Commissioners & Clerks £1696. 4. 7d.*'

'Here they begin to be more open, and not only take advantage of his Majesty's treasure to pay their own debts, but also the clerks'. They appear to have presumed upon the promise of the Lords of the Treasury (to consider exempting them from this tax) made verbally. It seems odd that such a promise should not have been made in writing, considering they have been so long in performing that promise. The orders seen by the writer direct 'them to be reimbursed of the money out of pocket, and not to allow it on Mr Doddington<sup>1</sup> and Mr Whittaker's<sup>2</sup> accounts, as they further say in that preface (which quite alters the case) whereby they cunningly took an opportunity of preparing your Lordships and extenuating the baseness of the fact. . . . However, had they never so many promises, they could produce no order to vouch this expense.'

(29) '*Navy Office. Arrears of Rent to the Surveyor's Instruments £120.*'

'This "Instruments" of the Surveyor's was one named Boneland, and employed in cutting models of ships for the Surveyor' at about £40 p.a. but is now retrenched. It is unreasonable to allow a house at £40 a year to such an officer. The writer ventures to think that some of this rent was actually paid after Boneland was retrenched. No order establishing the post has been found; so that the Navy Board has committed an irregularity in

<sup>1</sup> Paymaster of the Navy.

<sup>2</sup> Legal Adviser to the Navy.



increasing, without authority, the charge of the Navy. To sum up: What has been wrongfully overspent during the past 11 years comes to about £8012. 5. 5*d.*; exclusive of doubtful items which are left to their Lordships' discretion.

The copy is unsigned, but the following is appended by the Admiralty

*'Mr Wardlaw's explanation to the first three articles of the before-going account, and additions thereto.'*<sup>1</sup>

(1) He said that the Commissioners of the Navy having ordered the taxes to be paid out of the contingent money and having applied more money for contingencies than was necessary has been the occasion where several foreign bills drawn on the Board, after being kept a month or longer have been protested and returned.

(2) That when bills are made out to be paid in course, they pay the favourites out of the contingent money, and the Messenger stays for the money till the bill comes in course of payment, and then takes it for contingent money again.

(3) That the moneys paid for repairing the Treasurer of the Navy's house and office ought not to have been paid out of contingent money. . . then he acquainted the [Admiralty] Board that there was very extravagant painting and wainscoting in the Commissioners' houses and that their rooms were panelled with glasses of 5 shillings apiece at the King's charge, and that Mr Lyddell has sent several brass locks to his country house, and other small things which he believes were paid for by the King.'

*From the Navy Board to the Admiralty, 8th February 1699/1700.*

*In Reply to Gilbert Wardlaw's Allegations.*

The Board, upon perusal of Mr Wardlaw's paper, have reason to believe that it is not his own. It appears to be more concerned with 'the meanest parts' of the Navy Office than its true function, viz. 'the management of the affairs of the Navy'. However, as their Lordships appear to require a definite answer to each point raised (including such matters as firing, candles, postage, portage, etc.) these items have been examined by the Comptroller ('in whose province they chiefly lie') and a report is hereby submitted, as follows, viz.

'And to pass over the reflections in the first two paragraphs (the young man seeming to be in a heat and not doubting but that there are others as warm as himself to blow the coals) we will begin with his excuse for the office of the Treasurer of the Navy. "*Indeed the Treasurer's office seems to have been pretty reasonable.*"

<sup>1</sup> See p. 107 above.

*Answer*

The Treasurer's office makes but 4 fires. This [the Navy Office], makes 25.' The Treasurer's office employs only 20 persons. The Navy office not less than 75, 'daily at work'. The Navy Board is not concerned with the conveyance of specie, indeed, but has many more activities, such as transport of muster and pay books, 'entertainment of commissioners at pays, launches etc.,' as well as a vastly greater occasion for stationery, postage, errands to all parts, etc. Wardlaw can understand little of the workings of the Treasurer's office if he thinks £3000 will cover the contingent expenses of that office. The Cashier's disbursements under that head come to about £1000 and the charges for passing the ledgers £550, most or all of which must be added to his £3000 quoted by Wardlaw.

The document then proceeds to answer each of the 'allegations' contained in Wardlaw's report, clause by clause.

(1) *'That most of this money has been appropriated etc.'*

This is an unsupported reflection. 'It is wholly false, and therefore shows his malice as well as his ignorance. Imprests have always been joined with bills of exchange, and no money has ever come [from the Treasurer] for the one without the other. There has been no misappropriation, and no office hath supported its credit so remarkably.'

(2) 'If the Messenger had taken the money of the Treasurer and brought the bills to his own account likewise, that indeed had been double payment. But that is impossible, because one bill cannot be a voucher both for the Treasurer and the Messenger, any more than the one person can be in two places at the same time.' Had Wardlaw found bills passed for work not done or goods not supplied he might have justified his allegations. But nothing of the sort has been found. The present practice has resulted in fewer imprests being required, and the credit of the office has been enhanced, 'these bills being only for the small sums for such services as absolutely required ready money, as namely, for rewards, for salvage of stores, assistance of vessels and men in getting off his Majesty's ships from rocks and sands, and in other distresses, transporting stores on extra occasions to the Downs, Harwich and other places, rewards for seizing embezzled stores, small works to offices and houses, and such like occasions.'

(3) All the Messenger's accounts up to the end of 1696 were passed some time ago and directed to be taken in towards clearing his imprests, and we did not know but that he had taken up his imprests accordingly, but finding the contrary, we have ordered him forthwith to do it. As for the method of accounting, the Observator shows his ignorance here as else-

where'; for the Treasurer is, by his Instructions, required to conform to the rules laid down by the Navy Board. This present practice was designed expressly to prevent double payments and was introduced in spite of the late and the present 'Treasurers' objections.

(4) *Navy Office Repairs.*

These bills were formerly paid by the Messenger out of Imprest. The Board has since altered this method to payment in course, which is an advantage, as so much ready money is not required. No repairs or alterations other than those absolutely necessary have been undertaken, 'saving the damages caused by the frequent removal of the inhabitants,<sup>1</sup> and as such, must have been done had the houses been our own'.

(5) *Treasurer's Office Repairs.*

Mr Wardlaw seems determined to extenuate the case of the Treasurer's office in contradistinction to the Navy Office, but there are more grounds for criticism of the former in this case, for the Treasurer's office is only held on lease, and therefore the laying out of expenditure on repairs and alterations is not justified. Nevertheless, the Navy Board means no reflection on that office, the increase in business may well have warranted the expenditure.

(6) *Postage etc.*

'This is, like the fallen angels, to reflect upon his quondam bretheren. But since he has taken upon him to rake into these matters and your Lordships have thought fit to require our answers thereto, we shall give you all the satisfaction we can, believing the Comptroller (whose province it is to pass the said accounts, as we said before) has been as inquisitive as possible into all of them, and none of us knowing, or ever having heard of any abuses therein.

Then, please to know that, as it hath always been customary for the Commissioners and clerks to have the charge of all their letters INWARDS defrayed by the King, so, (as we are well informed) it is, and hath been the custom for all other public offices. The clerks' letters OUTWARDS have not been so generally paid for, nor any but such as have been attested to be for his Majesty's service; and that any other persons, under the name of acquaintance or otherwise, has had any privilege of that kind is absolutely denied. If any such tricks have been put upon the Office, this youth (as we are informed) is most likely to have done it, and consequently [is] best able to give an account of it. Gazettes, Votes, Price Currents, Acts of Parliament and other newspapers have been taken in from time to time, and sent by the Post to the Commissioners of the out-ports namely: Chatham

<sup>1</sup> That is, frequent changes among the occupants owing to changes in the composition of the Navy Board.



Portsmouth, Plymouth, Kinsale and Cadiz (whilst Commissioners were there) as also to Commissioners controlling pays abroad, and sometimes to their assistants and chief clerks, when so employed, upon which 'tis possible these suggestions are founded. But that any special privilege hath either been countenanced or practiced is untrue, and how he can infer it from the increase and decrease of business, or how *private* can be distinguished from *public* letters (especially INWARDS), we are as much to learn.<sup>1</sup> But in this, as in all other particulars of his paper, he takes the whole charge of 11 years together, to make it look big: and the charge of such a war as cannot be paralleled. Therefore, we shall take leave all along, to show your Lordships the yearly charge; and this sum, being divided by 11, comes to about £328 *per annum*, which is no surprise to us who have seen and gone through the business.'

Here follows a statement showing the offices and individuals between whom and the Navy Board, inter-departmental correspondence was continually maintained.

'Formerly, there was no check upon the Messenger for these disbursements [for postage] but since a check was appointed, the account has, all along, been left as it is now.'

The Navy Board has formed no great opinion of Mr Wardlaw's competence to judge these matters for, when copying extracts from the account in order to make out his case, he made many mistakes, 'as was observed by the clerk who attended him,' which resulted in his being unable to square his own figures with the correct totals. 'And if this is the case with those quarters he pretended to examine in detail, what right has he to claim accuracy for those he only guessed at.'

(7) It would indeed be odd if a comparison with the Treasurer's office were to be drawn in the matter of postage, considering the correspondence of that office is so very much less in volume to that of the Navy Office. Notwithstanding the clerks (for all that is known to the Navy Board) have the same privilege of free postage.

#### (8) *Penny Post.*

'The expense, amounting to but about £14 *per annum*' cannot be thought extravagant, on considering the volume of correspondence. On the contrary, it has been a saving, 'for, as we take it, the Penny Post extends 10 or 15 miles from London, and the charge of one letter sent that way being but one penny, no porter can be had so cheap'.

1 In the case of the Penny Post (which served the City and Suburbs) postage was paid by the receiver. Outside this area and using the General Post, one penny was paid by the sender and another by the receiver of ordinary letters (Ashton, J., *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*, 1919). See also p. 110, *n.* above.

(9) *Carriage of Muster Books.*

This head includes all books and accounts, as well as muster books, by the stage coaches, waggons and carriers, inwards and outwards, to and from almost every port in England, some as far afield as Newcastle, Liverpool, Bideford and Falmouth, 'which carriages were very numerous in the late war, and could not be otherwise. For, to speak only of the muster books, it is well known that every commander is obliged by his Instructions to send hither two books every two months, one for this, and the other for the Treasurer's office which, when there were 300 sail of ships and vessels at sea, amounted to 600 for every 2 months.' These, and other official books are not paid for by weight, as the carters insist on extra payment for keeping them dry. And if this charge comes out at £149 *per annum*, we do not wonder at it. The Housekeeper has made oath to the truth of the said disbursement, and all the other parties concerned declare the Housekeeper never had any orders from them to include any private packages. There seems no reason to suspect fraud.

(10) *Porters' Errands.*

This includes the carrying of boxes and bundles of books mentioned in (9) to and from the coaches and waggons; and letters to the Admiralty, Treasury and to Deptford, Woolwich and other parts. Since January 1694 a check has been kept on this item by the same clerk who checks the postage.

Wardlaw's assertion that these accounts are lost is false. The aforesaid clerk declares that he has never charged any portage that was not on his Majesty's service, and the Messenger states that he never made any payments except on vouchers stating the service for which payment was sanctioned. The proposal to add 2 or 3 porters to the establishment is the reverse of economical.

(11) As for Wardlaw's remark that the expenditure on porter's errands by the Treasurer's office is less than that by the Navy Office, 'Your Lordships were acquainted before, that this youth had forgot all the contingencies of the Cashier's part of this the Treasurer's office,' and the great disparity in business of a nature which requires portage.

(12) *Small Errands.*

This charge of about £19 *per annum* arises from 'urgent correspondence held between this and the Pay Office in Broad Street'. Two pays are sometimes carried on together, and books have to be carried between the two offices, sometimes 10 or 12 times a day. 'As for Moorfoot and his wife, they have been servants to the office near 40 years, and being aged, and consequently not qualified either to carry burdens or go on errands, they are employed to attend the office and fetch the letters from the Post Office etc.'

(13) *Navy Office Firing.*

According to Wardlaw's computation 463 chaldrons of sea coal was bought for the Navy Office in 11 years, and expended. Actually, 30 chaldrons of it remains in store. It is not known where he got his information that there were only 15 fires prior to 1695, but let that pass. There are now 29, of which, 26 are lit regularly. Counting 11 years as 4017 days, and deducting 2008 for summer and 287 for Sundays in winter, there will remain 1722 working days, 'tho' considering our working in the late war many Sundays, and our beginning our fires before Michaelmas and ending after Lady Day, by reason of the cold season near those times, we might reasonably challenge a number of days. And reckoning that the said 463 chaldrons of coals did contain (at 36 bushels to a chaldron) 16663 bushels; by dividing the said bushels by the...working days gives less than 10 bushels for each day's expense.' Which is very reasonable, 'considering how many other persons besides those employed in the offices are relieved by those fires in cold seasons, there being but one fire in common for entertainment of all persons resorting to this office,' which compares favourably with what is found to be consumed by some other offices: notably the Admiralty and the Treasurer's, which have each expended more than double that quantity over the same period. It may be added that a reason for the Navy Board's great expenditure of coal is that fires have to be kept on from 8 o'clock in the morning till 11 at night, 'which few or no other offices do, and we heartily wish it could be avoided here'. Nevertheless, the cost works out at only £142 *per annum* 'which is cheaper, considering the number of fires, than we maintain in our own houses'.

*Scotch Coal.*

Admitting Wardlaw's computation to be accurate, the consumption, expressed in cwts. per working day works out at little more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  cwt. for each fire, which is very reasonable, considering the quick burning nature of that quality of coal. No comparison is made with the other offices, as they burn 'billets and faggots in the chief fire room', but it will be realized that wood is both more chargeable and troublesome than Scotch coal, and consequently no sign of better husbandry. Our accuser, either knavishly or through want of better knowledge, hath misinformed your Lordships by saying that we burn Scotch coal in but two places: the Board Room and Mr Lyddell's office, which enforces us to acquaint your Lordships with the truth of this matter, and do affirm that we have also burned Scotch coal in the Surveyor's own office and the office of the assistant to the Clerk of the Acts, until, very lately, his indisposition made him change the said fuel to that of billets.'



*Charcoal.*

Allowing also, Wardlaw's statement of the amount of charcoal bought to be correct, and deducting what still remains (about 600 sacks), at 3 bushels to a sack, it works out at about 1 peck per fire *per diem* at a cost of 3*d.* per fire. The Treasurer's and the Admiralty office expenditure on this head is about 1*d.* per fire *per diem*, but the difference is accounted for by the Navy Office having to make 'so many fires each day with so few hands, having but two maidservants to make 26 fires before eight of the clock in the morning, which could not possibly be despatched so soon without blowing. And the entertaining of more servants will not lessen the charge, and may be otherwise of prejudice and ill consequence to the Service. The insinuation concerning Mr Lyddell "promoting and buying the quantities of charcoal" is a base and unhandsome reflection, Mr Lyddell affirming that till now, he never heard what quantities were bought, or ever spoke or concerned himself therein, and the Messenger declaring the same.'

*Statement of the charge of Firing.*

In addition to the foregoing, the Navy Board adds that the Messenger has been questioned and affirms that he has never paid out the money (for which he shows the entry in his accounts) until he has seen the fuel actually delivered and the quantities correct. This is confirmed by the Housekeeper and her maids 'and having received no information to the contrary, we think we have good reason to believe that they are both very honest and good officers in their stations, having been in their places near 40 years without any blemish'.

*(14) Navy Office Candles.*

This item is as frivolous and ill-grounded as the rest, as shall be shown as follows: 'Admitting the candles bought for the use of this office to be 6070 dozen pounds in 11 years, and that the number of days within that time are 4017, out of which, abating one quarter part, (being 1004) for the Summer seasons, and 572 for so many Sundays, there will remain 2441 working nights according to the rule made use of by him, though we might reasonably except against both these deductions. To the first, as being too large an abatement for the consideration alleged, seeing that there are very few nights, even in summer, that we do not burn candles at this office; and to the second, because we have frequently wrought on Sundays during the late war. But setting aside these objections at present, let the 6070 be divided by 2441, and the produce will be near  $2\frac{1}{2}$  dozen pounds of candles for each night's work. And to prove that this quantity is not too large for the service of the office, we cannot think of any other or better

demonstration than to lay before your Lordships our nightly expenses of candles in each office and place at this time, being as undermentioned, viz.

Offices	No. of candles
Comptroller of the Navy	18
Surveyor	10
Clerk of the Acts	23
Commissioner Sotherne	4
Comptroller of Storekeeper's Accounts	10
-do- of Treasurer's Accounts	8
-do- -do- (for the Ticket Office)	25
-do- of Victualling Accounts	10
Petition Office	4
Messenger's Office	1
Board Room	6
Purveyors	1
Out-rooms	2
Stairs and Hall	4
Watchmen	7
Housekeeper	4
	<u>137</u>

Which makes 137 candles at 4 to the pound, which makes 2 dozen and ten pounds and one quarter. And the number of persons that make use of the candles are:

Commissioners in their Offices	10
Clerks and Offices	<u>65</u>
	<u>75</u>

The expenses of which head in the middle of the late war must needs have been greater. So that we are so far from being ashamed of the said expenses, that we think it ought to be taken as another admirable evidence of the laborious works depending on this office, which could not be carried out without working so long time by candle light; no office being shut up till nine or ten o'clock at night, and some continually staying till twelve, and past that hour sometimes. And though we verily believe that none can contradict us when we affirm that no office works so many hours by candle light as the Navy Office, yet finding no expense to be under two candles per head each night, we have adventured to try the expense of candles in such offices as come under our knowledge, by the same rule, being the Admiralty and Treasurer's offices, and find both of them do exceed that measure. This

shows sufficiently, as we conceive, the difference in the expense of the several years to proceed from the first and succeeding stocks (which he takes no notice of in any of his calculations) and from the increase and decrease of the business, and not from any abuse therein, as he maliciously expressed it.

As for the argument given about some clerks being absent on pays, it is not worth confuting, considering that our aforesaid computations are drawn from the present state of the office, which is less in number of persons employed than it was in the midst of the late war, yet sufficient to refute his unmannerly argument, whereunto we shall only add that, as in the case of firing, so in the case of candles, receipts are produced for the quantities paid for, and the Housekeeper and her maids affirm they are all employed to the use of our several offices and not otherwise.

(15) *Parish Duties.*

The King has always paid the Parish Duties for the office and the Commissioners' houses in his buildings, as will be found from all the records remaining in this office.' It is understood that the same principle obtains at the other offices whose accounts pass through the hands of the Navy Board.

(16) *Coach Hire and Entertainments to the Board.*

It is not true that the greater part of the sum referred to has been spent on dinners in town. Not more than £9 *per annum* has been so spent, 'which, were it compared with the like expenses in former times, we should be found far from being ill-husbands to his Majesty. It does not matter at what tavern the money was spent, but it was not at the Rummer, as we remember, upon any such account but once, and that was last year to entertain your Lordships, when you were pleased to make your first visit to this office, and we do not think his Majesty has suffered by it in his service.'

*Coach Hire, etc.*

A detailed account has already (13th November) been sent, accounting for these expenses over the past 11 years. No journey has been undertaken unnecessarily, and 'it is very well known that receipts cannot be taken for such disbursements, especially for coach hire and waterage [i.e. boat hire] about the town'. Why Mr Sergison and Mr Lyddell's names should be singled out is not understood, as 'each commissioner's name appears individually in the account referred to' in respect of each item of these charges. The Board concludes by referring to 'the backwardness of all the Board to take any journeys to pays,<sup>1</sup> by which it's plain nobody makes any

<sup>1</sup> Payment of ships' companies, when carried out afloat, frequently involved a journey to the Nore, the Downs or Spithead by two or more members of the Board (of whom the Comptroller was supposed to be one) and a staff of clerks.



profit by it, and we do assure your Lordships we should be glad to be excused of our other attendances.'

(17) *Newspapers.*

'Here he sets up for a Dictator, and gives limits for an unknown expense according to his own fancy.' The papers taken in were: 'Acts of Parliament, Votes, Gazettes, Current Prices for certain commodities, etc; all of which were very necessary for our information, and which cost £58 *per annum*.'

(18) *Navy Office Chocolate.*

'It being observed to be likewise the practice of other public offices, and several of our members whose habitations were not near the Office complaining of their Lordships in attending so many hours without refreshment, from eight in the morning until two in the afternoon,<sup>1</sup> it was considered preferable to allow this amenity rather than that members should leave their place of duty to go to their own houses, as they formerly did. Nevertheless, if this is not approved it shall be retrenched.'

(19) *Navy Office Incidentals* [MS. 'Incidents'].

Wardlaw appears to have set down all these items more to show his care in collecting them than for the purpose of raising objections. No necessity is seen for justifying most of them, but in answer to his objections to 'Extra Charity, Briefs & Bonfires, that we are sufficiently empowered by virtue of our commissions and general Instructions to expend his Majesty's treasure to these uses where we find it needful so to do, and as sufficiently backed by precedents in this, and examples from other offices of the like kind. And the sum being so small for so long time, we think it unnecessary to trouble your Lordships with the particulars thereof.'

(20) *Making Stairs into the Church Gallery.*

The gallery and stairs were built 40 years ago at the King's charge, for the Commissioners of the Navy and their families.<sup>2</sup> It is not, therefore, understood why this objection is now made.

(21) *Clothing John Wright.*<sup>3</sup>

'This was paid by order of the Rt Hon'ble, The Lords of the Admiralty dated the 19th May 1692, for buying clothes and necessaries for John Wright, being one of the boys that received a medal for his services in re-taking the *Friend's Adventure* of Topsham (to which he belonged) from the French.'

(22) *Repairing the Church by an over-assessment for the Poor.*

'This is as just a payment as any other parish duty, it being assessed and charged in the same nature; and the King having paid all such duties time

<sup>1</sup> At the Admiralty Office in Whitehall, where the Navy Board attended at least once a week.

<sup>2</sup> 'Went to Church in our new gallery, the first time it was used' (Pepys's Diary, 11 November 1660).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 114, n. 2.

out of mind, as may be more fully attested by all the records remaining in this office.'

(23) *Upholsterer's work in the Commissioners' pews.*<sup>1</sup>

The sum was only expended to repair what was worn out. See answer to previous item.

(24) *Stamps for Masters' Warrants, for Mr Peters.*

'Some of this money was paid by the Messenger in the year 1694 and the residue in 1695 (the first being but 5 years since, tho' he otherwise alleged in his accusation) but the accounts wherein this expense was included, being not examined and passed by the Comptroller till July last, and he finding that Mr Peters had not issued all the stamped papers, gave directions to his clerk to keep a memorandum by him, that before any more of the Messenger's accounts were passed, he should remind him to call on the said Mr Peters for the payment of the moneys which he had received for warrants, which would certainly have been done without this youth's assistance, and a deduction made of the allowance therefore on the Messenger's bills, as hath already been done in Mr Painter's bills for the like disbursements at the Admiralty Office.'

(25) *Linen for Commissioner Willshaw.*

'This, and some other items were provided for Commissioner Willshaw and his clerks on board the *Isabella* yacht when he was sent to Cadiz' to superintend the refitting of the [Mediterranean] Fleet in 1694-5.<sup>2</sup> The items were correctly taken on charge in the Boatswain's store account.

(26) *Gratuity to a Stationer for the present of some Charts.*

'It has always been customary not to accept any presents for the general use of the office without returning a gratuity, as nearly equal in value as we can judge.' These were new charts of the Mediterranean, and some others, and are of great use to the Office.

(27) *Payment of £1042. 10. 0d. to Mr Colby and Mr Crawley.*

There is no mystery about this. It represents the sum due in taxes by the Office, and was entrusted to the above named two gentlemen (rather than to the Messenger) to hand to the Tax Collectors, 'as they are more knowledgeable and better accountants'. Money paid for the taxes was never brought into the Messenger's accounts, 'our design being to repay

<sup>1</sup> 'Dec 23rd, Lord's Day, [1660] In the morning to Church, where our pew all covered with rosemary and baize' (Pepys's Diary).

<sup>2</sup> The establishment of a naval base at Cadiz enabled the Mediterranean Fleet to be kept in being throughout 1694-5 instead of coming home for the winter as in previous years. Willshaw was appointed Commissioner in charge.

him again in case his Majesty should not be pleased to allow us the same.' The explanation is continued in the next paragraph.

(28) *Tax on the employments of the 6 Commissioners [paid out of Office Funds].*

'Here is a heap of ill-language and nothing else.' Several Commissioners have been granted remission of taxation. The Lords of the Treasury owned ; and promised the Navy Office a similar indulgence. The privilege is already enjoyed in some cases in the Admiralty Office. Repayment of all the Navy Board taxes, from the beginning of the war, was promised the Board 'by other hands', and 'we have good reason to believe, ordered by his Majesty though sunk somewhere else'. Taxes on individuals drawing £100 *per annum* or less have already been remitted as per the Treasury's letter dated 22nd December 1699, which letter sanctions the repayment for the years 1696, 98 and 99 'as paid by your Messenger out of the Contingent Money, etc.'

(29) *Arrears of House rent [for the model maker].*

'This person was employed by the Surveyor in making models of docks, ships and vessels which, being new inventions, could not be managed without such instructions to the artificers that were to perform them.' The Surveyor put up with having this craftsman working in his own house as long as he could, but eventually had to hire accommodation for him. He was discharged in August 1698, but the rent had to be paid to Xmas in lieu of a quarter's notice.

Finally, in reply to Wardlaw's explanation and elaboration of the first three clauses of his 'Allegations':

- (1) No bills have been protested or returned.
- (2) No large sums were paid out in this manner.
- (3) The Board knows nothing of any such paintings, wainscotings or panellings of rooms with glasses.

'Those that are now standing are of no such nature, being only of the common sort, as is usual in such houses. Neither is there any panels of looking-glass in the rooms, only some few fixed over the chimney [pieces] and those also of indifferent sizes, and charged upon the houses.'

This concludes the Navy Board's report which, so far as the management of the Contingency Account is concerned, seems to have satisfied the Admiralty. But it was by no means the end of hostilities. Some of the pnuendos had got home, and within forty-eight hours the following letter had been despatched to the Navy Board from the Admiralty:



Admiralty Office

10th February 1699/1700

'Gentlemen,

My Lords of the Admiralty, taking notice of the following expressions in your long report upon observations made by Mr Wardlaw in several things relating to the affairs of your office, viz. on page 1, "We have a little reason to believe it as Wardlaw's paper". And on page 2, "the young man seeming to be in a heat, and not doubting but that there are others as warm as himself to blow the coals", and in the last paragraph: "All this seems to proceed either from some other person (as we have hinted at the beginning) or from some other reason, or both":

Their Lordships command me to signify their directions to you that you do forthwith let them know whether, by any of those expressions you do mean any member of their Board, or who or whom you do mean thereby. And their Lordships do the rather insist upon your plain and particular answer herein, for that a member of your Board did (when you attended here some time since) seem to hint that application was made by Mr Wardlaw to one of their members some time before the business of Mr Wardlaw's observations was first communicated to their Lordships, and even before he was dismissed from his employment in the office.

I am, Gentlemen,

your most humble Servant

J. BURCHETT.'

The Navy Board's reply is dated 12th February and is as follows:

'Sir,

We have received your letter of the 10th instant, touching some expressions in our late long report to the Rt Hon. the Lords of the Admiralty in answer to Mr Wardlaw's observations upon the contingent expenses of the Navy for 11 years last past; and do hope we have not given any offence to their Lordships either by the length of the said report or any passage in it. As for its length, it was out of zeal to give their Lordships satisfaction in the matters he has undertaken to censure. And yet, if we had taken half the time to answer the said observations as was spent in collecting and putting them together, or had thought it requisite to set forth our services on this occasion, the said report would have swelled to a much large volume. And the expressions their Lordships have been pleased to take notice of, our knowledge of the person and the style of the paper lead us, as you will find, to suspect that, (though it contains nothing but reflections) it could not proceed altogether from himself.

And it is notorious enough that he is conversant with a man and his wife, who, as they are said by his relations to be the chief (if not the only) instruments of drawing him into these proceedings, so it is to be doubted they bear as little good will to his Majesty's Government as they do to this office. And these and such others (if any) that concerned themselves in promoting these troubles to their Lordships and this Board, are the persons meant by the said expressions, and not their Lordships who, being sensible of our services, cannot, (as we firmly believe) but be as far from entertaining any such thoughts of us as this youth would insinuate, as we have been from thinking their Lordships anyway concerned therein, which desiring you to communicate to their Lordships, we are, etc.

[LOUDISLEY] S[HOVELL]; D[ANIEL] F[URZER]; C[HARLES] S[ERGISON]; [THOMAS] W[ILLSHAW]; D[ENNIS] L[YDDELL]; B[ENJAMIN] T[YMEWELL]; [JOHN] H[ILL].'

This was not considered good enough by the Admiralty, who counter-attacked without delay.

Admiralty Office

13th February 1699/00.

Gentlemen,

I have communicated to my Lords of the Admiralty your letter of the 12th instant in answer to what I did, by their command, write to you on the 10th touching some expressions in your report on the observations of Mr Wardlaw. And, exception being made to the said letter, in regard you only say thereby in general terms that by those expressions in your report you do not mean their Lordships:

I am therefore commanded to signify their directions to you that you do, notwithstanding, let them know in the most plain and direct words that may be, whether, by all or any part of the aforesaid expression in your report, you do mean any Member of their Board, and if so, which one of them you do mean.

I am, etc.

J. BURCHETT.'

In a tone of hurt innocence the Navy Board hasten to satisfy their Lordships by a letter, the last sentence in which is surely a masterpiece.

Navy Office

14th February 1699/00.

Sir,

We are not a little surprised at the receipt of your second letter for an explanation of our meaning by those expressions in our late answer to Wardlaw's paper mentioned in your first, hoping our reply thereto would have given their Lordships full satisfaction therein and can only add that

having with an uncommon diligence, care, industry and strictness, endeavoured to comply with our duty since we had the honour of serving his Majesty in this Commission. And not knowing of any occasion we have given to any of their Lordships to promote any matters of this kind, we were as far from meaning any of their Lordships by the said expressions as their Lordships have been from being concerned therein; which, desiring you to communicate to their Lordships, we remain, etc.'

[Signatures as in previous letter.]

Some indication that the naval members of the Admiralty had been dragged, rather unwillingly, by Haversham into this affair may perhaps be deduced from the following Admiralty Board minute in which Wardlaw's 'allegations' are finally disposed of:

'Admiralty Office, 30th March 1700, Saturday Morning.

*Present:* Lord Bridgwater, Sir George Rooke, Sir David Mitchell, Mr Churchill. The Board being met this morning according to appointment to consider and determine what to be done in relation to the matter depending between the Navy Board and Mr Gilbert Wardlaw, sometime since a clerk to Mr Lyddell, one of the Commissioners of the Navy; they did accordingly take the same into consideration. And it having not appeared, throughout the whole inquiry the Board made into the matter, that the said Wardlaw could make out anything material which he has alleged against the Navy Board in general, or Mr Lyddell in particular, it was resolved that the allowance of twenty shillings a week which has for some time been made to him be discontinued from this day in regard his aforesaid accusations appear to be frivolous, and to carry with them not a little appearance of malice.'

It will be noticed that Haversham was not present at this meeting. Furthermore, he had declared his intention of absenting himself from any future meeting of the Admiralty at which the Navy Board might be present. The quarrel at length reached the ears of the King, who sent for Haversham 'and told his Lordship in his closet, at Hampton Court, that he had heard there was a misunderstanding between him and the Navy Board, and that he declined being at the Admiralty when the Commissioners of the Navy attended; which he thought was not for his service; and therefore required him, for the future, to be at the Board when they [the Navy Board] attended as well as at other times. Which, his Lordship said [in the presence of both Boards] should be observed on his part, and all things should now be as if there had been no such thing, and desired that a notice might be taken of it accordingly.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Navy Board minutes (Sergison Collection) 22 May 1700.



Finally, on 6 June, at a meeting attended by both Boards, the Admiralty recorded that Wardlaw's allegations and the Navy Board's reply had been submitted to the King, and that his Majesty had signified his approval of the Admiralty's finding, 'and desired a good understanding might be had between the Boards, and if any differences had arisen they might be forgotten, so that his service might be carried on to the best advantage. . . . After which, the Navy Board gave their Lordships thanks for the justice done them, and assured their Lordships that as nothing had been, so nothing should be wanting on their parts, to comply with his Majesty's commands.'<sup>1</sup>

Peace, for the time being, was restored. The Admiralty Commission was itself dissolved in January 1702 when it was decided to reinstitute the appointment of a Lord High Admiral. This post was coveted by Haversham, who resigned from the Admiralty Board in the previous December, in a fit of pique, on hearing that Thomas, 8th Earl of Pembroke, had been selected. His subsequent career in Parliament, characterized by rancour and lack of tact,<sup>2</sup> is outside the scope of this article.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 6 June 1700.

<sup>2</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*

## THE COMING OF THE CHINESE STEAMER

By G. R. G. Worcester

EVOLUTION in shipping in the West as compared with China was swift, particularly so during the last few hundred years, whereas the Chinese, having attained to what was to them an eminently satisfactory standard, remained stationary, indeed stagnant, over a period covering very probably well over 1000 years.

Much of this was due, no doubt, to complacency, but an explanation is also to be found in their philosophy which held that everything that was ancient was almost sacrosanct, while the new, no matter how good, was as likely as not to be dangerous. Another obstacle to progress was the common belief that there was nothing really new at all as every invention was known already to the Chinese in some form or another, even if it were only an idea entombed in their early classical literature, and often lost for ever.

An illustration of this belief is connected with the arrival of the *Forbes*, in 1830, the first steamer ever to be seen in China, for when the Chinese pilot was taken on board he carefully refrained from showing any surprise at her powers of self-propulsion, merely remarking that these methods had been known before in China, but had fallen into disuse.

There was some small cause for this attitude in respect of paddle-wheel ships, for an ingenious general named Li Kao (A.D. 735-792), built fighting ships of which it was recorded that they had 'two paddle-wheels on each side so that the boats ran as fast as horses'. This invention was mentioned again as having been used during the Sung Dynasty in the first decade of the reign of Kao Tsung, about A.D. 1135, when a rebel general named Yang Yao who later, whether by virtue of his use of paddlers or not is not recorded, became deified as the junkmen's god. These paddle-wheel junks were not a success, for Yang Yao was captured by the renowned General Yao Fei who threw down mats ahead of the paddlers and brought them to a standstill. The paddles were presumably worked by means of a capstan turned by the crew. The same device was used with even less success against the British at Woosung in 1842 where the Chinese found how inadequate were their methods of making war, and that advantage lay with the foreign ships and especially the steamers.

Although the rude shock of Western contact had shaken the conservatism of China to its foundations, it had proved a tonic stimulus, and there were not wanting Imperial statesmen who had the perception to realize

hat there were lessons to be learned, and the courage to apply themselves to the distasteful task of imitating and emulating the despised barbarians. The earliest of these attempts was the direct result of the China Wars with Britain, and the first to realize the superiority of Western arms and ships was the Commissioner of Canton, Lin Tze-hsu (1785-1850) who, despite and perhaps because of, his bitter experience, took a great interest in all the evidences of Western civilization and constantly endeavoured to improve the standard of Chinese ships and armaments. Indeed he may be described as the pioneer of the modernization of China.

Lin began his campaign by buying the English merchant ship *Cambridge* in March 1840. Exhaustive research can trace only one authority for this purchase, that of W. D. Bernard who wrote the *Narrative and Voyages of the 'Nemesis'*, the steamer so intimately bound up with the fate of the *Cambridge*. The *Cambridge* was a vessel of 900 tons, probably a three-master and had arrived from Singapore just before the blockade was instituted in Canton in 1840. Being offered for sale she was bought by Russell and Co., an American firm. She was renamed the *Chesapeake* and sent to Canton with a full cargo of British goods valued at £150,000 which she delivered safely, being the last ship to enter port.

Commissioner Lin, anticipating hostilities with the British ships, applied to Mr Delano, the head of Russell and Co., for permission to buy the *Chesapeake* so as to arm her as a defence against the British warships.

Strange as it may seem, the American firm readily agreed to sell the ship for use against the British, and the Chinese proceeded to arm her with cannons, muskets, matchlocks, bows and arrows and every available sort of missile from shots to stones. In addition she was decorated with streamers hanging from the mast to the deck and flags of all kinds arranged round the bulwarks while two large eyes were painted on her bows. Her crew of 400 men was composed of Chinese, Manila men, Lascars and Seedies from Africa and runaways from the 'Country Ships' of India.

She was then towed down the Canton River to be anchored behind a strong raft' which the Chinese had thrown, as a barrier, across the stream. The position of this raft is given by Hunter in the *Fan Kwei at Canton* as being just above the second bar, but another more reliable authority, James Orange, writes that it was placed just above the first bar. Support for this position would seem to be in the fact that a portion of the river north of Dane's Island and west of the first bar was known as Cambridge Reach, and not, it will be noticed, Chesapeake Reach.

Our two authorities differ again as to the manner in which the *Cambridge* met her end. According to Hunter, on arrival at her anchorage she was engaged in taking on board a large quantity of gunpowder when smoke



heralded the approach of a British steamer from the Bogue. The British ship had the 'unheard-of temerity' to try the effect of a Congreve Rocket on the *Cambridge*. In the tremendous explosion that resulted which was said to have been clearly audible in Canton, 30 miles away, the ship and all its contents vanished completely.

Mr Orange, however, claims that Mr Hunter's 'picturesque and rather lurid' account is not true, and describes quite a different action. According to his version the Chinese had a shore battery on the left bank of the Canton River to cover the raft and the *Cambridge*. This battery was stormed and put out of action by a landing party and the *Cambridge* was then boarded by a boat's crew in a boat from H.M.S. *Calliope* which had been 'dragged over the wood boom', presumably the raft. Most of the Chinese then jumped overboard. The ship was found to be quite well prepared for action with her 34 guns of English manufacture clean and in good order. The ship was then set on fire and when the fire reached her magazine she blew up and that was the last of her. Both authorities are agreed as to the ultimate fate of the ship, that is to say that she blew up and that the date was 27 February 1841, that is during the Third Battle of the Bogue.

With regard to other alien types of craft acquired by the Chinese about this time Bernard goes on to say that the Chinese then built 'some strange looking schooners upon an European model, with a view to employing them in some novel way or other against the British ships at Canton'. The British, however, captured four of these in one day.

The first Chinese steamer was that referred to in the *Chinese Repository* of April 1847 as being built in Canton of 'small size and designed as an experimental thing' which, it adds, 'is likely to be somewhat retarded by the recent death of the shipwright'. Gutzlaff, however, in his *Life of Taou Kwang* says of this ship, 'when completed she was found to have an extraordinary defect, that of being stationary, for nothing could move the paddle-wheels'.

With the temporary cessation of hostilities the Chinese need for ships capable of standing up to Western warfare became less urgent, and the interest in Western technical mechanism lapsed. Nevertheless, the need for progress had been recognized by the Imperial Court, and innumerable decrees were issued containing instructions to build bigger and better ships. Although with the signing of the peace treaties the modernizing influence had abated, it did not die out, and with the advance down the Yangtze Valley of the successful T'ai-p'ings, China's interest in the foreign type of man-of-war revived strongly and the Western powers with whom she had so recently been at war came to her aid.

The prime movers now in the quest for Western technical knowledge,

specially in promoting the use of steamers by the Chinese, were two of the literati who were later to become famous 'Scholar-generals'. Both were natives of the province of Hunan where their careers began almost simultaneously about the year 1852, while in their early forties, by assisting the Government in the organizing of troops for suppression of the bandits which were the result of the T'ai-p'ing disorders. Tseng kuo-fan, home on leave from the Hamlin Academy at Peking to attend his mother's funeral, was instructed by the court in December 1853 to build a Navy in order to recapture the Hunan cities from the rebels. He established shipyards at Hengchow, Hsiangtau and Changsha and experimented in various types of craft, including a raft designed to carry guns.

The other Scholar-general to be, Tso Tsung-T'sang, who was a year younger, had, from the outset of the wars with Britain, been deeply interested in maritime defence and was a strong advocate of reforms and progress along Western lines. He was put in charge of a bureau for the manufacture of ships and guns, and himself invented a weapon called the P'i Shan P'ao or Splitting-mountain gun.

About five hundred small craft were finally built or adapted for the Imperial fleet, but when the first clash with the T'ai-p'ings occurred at Yochow, fortune favoured the rebels, for Tseng's army was defeated in battle and a storm played havoc with his fleet so that he was forced to fall back on Changsha. Yet another defeat occurred at Ching-chiang, where the rebels burned his ships.

In May 1854 the humiliated Tseng attempted suicide but was prevented by his subordinates. He was degraded by the Emperor for his failure, but ordered to build more navies.

In a counter-attack that summer he vindicated himself by driving the T'ai-p'ings out of Yochow. Later he recaptured Wuhan, only to lose it again, whereupon he proceeded to Kiangsi and Anhui where he took up his headquarters. Here he was stirred by admiration for the loyalty of a young patriot named Li-hung-chang who, in 1853 at the age of 31, had collected and financed a band of soldiers to harry the rebels. In recognition of these services, Tseng kuo-fan promoted Li's interests at court, and so started him on his career as one of China's greatest statesmen.

Efforts to stem the advance of the T'ai-p'ings had also been made from down river. In compliance with Imperial instructions, the Intendant at Shanghai collected together about twenty 'low sea-going vessels of so-called Southern pirate-build' each carrying 6 to 8 guns, together with some Portuguese lorchas. In an action off Golden Island, near Chinkiang, Wu's fleet was defeated and fled. He had, however, also bought three or four American and English merchantmen, manned by foreigners and the arrival

of these craft stiffened the resistance of Wu's fleet which followed H.M.S. *Hermes* up river on her visit to Nanking and, under cover of her presence, met with some measure of success. The high rates of pay offered by Wu to foreign seamen was the cause of many desertions from the foreign naval and merchant ships lying in Shanghai. Foreign shipping also assisted in the struggle against the rebels, and the feared 'Demon Boats' were now, more than a quarter of a century after their first introduction to Chinese waters, eagerly sought after by the more progressive-minded members of the Imperial Government. Any such desire had previously been the outcome of the necessity for self-protection rather than any clear conviction of the superiority of Western forms of civilization, and the more reactionary officials were still fanatically opposed to any modernization. Nevertheless, among the statesmen with vision and the merchants there was a dawning realization of the advantages to be gained by possessing a fleet of merchant vessels.

In 1855 there was a revival of the practice of transporting tribute rice to the capital by the sea route instead of via the Grand Canal. Whatever the reason, whether for motives of economy or because of a prudent reluctance to run the gauntlet of the T'ai-p'ings in the Yangtze, the result was the beginning of the employment of steamers for carrying purposes. In 1856 the Chinese merchants of Shanghai and Ningpo petitioned the Emperor for leave to send steamers to patrol the sea coast so as to protect the tribute-bearing junks from pirates, and sanction was given to each port to maintain a vessel. The first two steamers, both American, were the *Tu chih-po*, and the *Ku fu*. They were later both sent up the Yangtze against the T'ai-p'ing rebels together with other steamers, for as yet the difference between a steamer and a man-of-war was not understood by the Chinese.

Meanwhile Tseng and Tso continued the curiously parallel courses of their careers. Tseng, still engaged in building up forces and defences on the Yangtze against the T'ai-p'ings, had established arsenals at Nanchang and, in 1861, at Anking. In that year he memorialized the Throne on the subject of steamers: 'They frighten the people because they are so strange to them...but it will only take one or two years to make them a common means of transportation.'

Steamers at that time were hard to come by, and he was very elated by the purchase of his first, the *Po-yun*, for Taels 50,000. After her arrival in Anking he inspected her with Li-Hung-chang and noted in his diary: 'Every part of the ship is wonderful but on account of the short time spent examining it I do not quite understand the place where fire is used to disturb the water and turn the paddle wheels.'



His delight was sadly short-lived, for the vessel broke down and proved useless. Undaunted he persevered with his plans which, however, were more concerned with the building than the buying of steamers. His ambitions were at last realized when, on 28 January 1863, an all-Chinese-made steamer was launched from his arsenal at Anking. She measured 99 ft. in length and Tseng recorded in his diary that 'she attained a speed of 25 li an hour'.

His engineer, Hsu Shou, then built a model engine and basing his plans on the other small vessel, succeeded in launching another small steam vessel of 25 tons in 1865. On the trial trip on the Yangtze she is reported to have travelled 255 li, or about 85 miles, in 14 hours. She was called the *Wang Kao*, or *Yellow Swan*.

Although not a very marked success, these craft were the result of a courageous attempt to solve technical problems unaided. As Tseng himself wrote in his diary a few years later: 'All the engineers were Chinese and no foreigner was employed. Although a small steamer was built, its speed was so slow that it showed that we had not yet learned the proper technique.'

Tseng later started an arsenal in Nanking in which he took a great pride. In his diary is an account of a visit to the machine shop there. He says: 'Fire was used to move the engine and the paddle-wheels. Very wonderful indeed. Especially wonderful was the manufacture of foreign powder and copper caps, and the sawing of big pieces of wood, as easily as if they were pieces of dough. This is most mysterious.'

Meanwhile Tseng and his technicians were planning to move to Shanghai to expand, and in 1863 Yung Wing, a returned Yale student, was despatched to America to buy machinery, for which he was authorized to spend Taels 8,000. This, the foundation of what was to be the Kiangnan Arsenal, was first established in a foreign machine shop in Hongkew. In 1867 new premises were built in the southern part of Shanghai, and six or seven English and French mechanics were employed.

The first steamer to be built there measured 185 ft. long, with a beam of 7½ ft. and was launched in 1868. On her trials she is said to have steamed up river for 90 li, about 30 miles in 1½ hours. The boiler and hull were manufactured in the arsenal but the engine was an old one which had been bought and repaired and adjusted to the vessel which was propelled by paddle wheels, termed by the Chinese 'visible wheels', as opposed to screw propellers, which were called 'covered wheels'. The ship was named by Tseng the *Tien Chih*, or *Calm and Prosperous* for, as he said, 'the four winds are calm, and the machine shop prosperous'. She was then sent up river to Nanking.

The idea was to build five steamers in Kiangnan, and the machine shop became China's first technical school where Chinese mechanics could study under foreign supervision.

The first frigate to be built in a Chinese arsenal was launched at Shanghai on 24 May 1872. She was ship-rigged. Her length was 263½ ft. with a beam of nearly 45 ft. and a depth of 29 ft. There were four 90-pdr pivot guns on the upper deck and six 40-pdr guns on the main deck. With the exception of the shaft, everything was made by Chinese artisans in the arsenal under the supervision of only five foreigners.

This was no mean achievement, but the *North China Herald* of that time records how the Chinese refused to admit that any ship built on foreign lines could be compared with their old-style war-junks, hallowed by generations of history.

At the launching ceremony a foreign spectator happened to remark to one of the Chinese officials that this must be the largest Chinese ship ever to be launched in China. The reply was that in ancient times ships had been built capable of carrying this frigate as cargo. In 1406, for instance, he said, when the famous eunuch Cheng Ho was ordered to take an expedition through the Western Ocean, he built sixty-two large ships, each 44 chang long and 18 chang wide. That is to say about 528 ft. long by 216 ft. beam. Starting from Soochow, it was claimed that these truly astonishing boxes achieved many great victories. History is silent as to how they were handled and the navigators responsible for conducting them to the scenes of battle must have experienced moments of anxiety.

Small steam craft were also being built in Nanking. Tseng who was now the Viceroy of Chili, continued his interest in his pet schemes. He attended the launching of a new steamer at Nanking and, four months before his death, in March 1872, he paid his last visit to Kiangnan to see the four new ships which had followed the *Calm and Prosperous*. Of these, all but the last were ready for him to name them, the *Wei Ching* (*Dignity and Tranquillity*), the *Ch'ao Chiang* (*Controlling the River*) and the *Chieh Hai* (*Fathoming the Sea*). The *Wei Ching* took his body back to Nanking after his death. His son, Tseng Chi-chai travelled from Nanking in a small steamer to Changshai to attend the funeral, but both he and his father had advanced too far and too fast for their die-hard friends of the old school, for on his arrival the younger Tseng was very roughly handled for his imprudence in venturing in a 'Demon Ship'. Tseng Chi-chai later became Chinese Minister to England.

Meanwhile, Tso tsung-t'ang, the other Hunanese Scholar-general and pioneer of steam navigation in China received Imperial recognition for his services and was sent to Chekiang to carry out the Government's campaign against the T'ai'p'ings.

In this and other battles he was assisted by the Americans and the English under the foreign commanders Frederick Ward and General Gordon, and had first-hand information regarding the usefulness of foreign mechanical industry. His early determination to build modern ships received fresh impetus. His first experiment was to employ four American steamers against the pirates in the neighbourhood of Ningpo and Tinghai. This was a great success as several hundred pirates were killed and trade flourished when freed from their attentions.

A French naval officer named Prosper Giquel, who had taken part in the battle of Huchow, was consulted by Tso over the trials of his first small steamer, launched in 1864 on the West Lake at Hangchow. Tso's first experiment was hardly more successful than Tseng kuo-fan's first all-Chinese-made steamship built the previous year at Anking, and apparently for the same reason, lack of speed. The Frenchman declared her to be on the right lines, but advised buying a Western-made engine.

Tso moved to Fukien and established an arsenal in the capital of the province, Foochow. Giquel drew up plans for the arsenal and went to France to obtain estimates for the plant required. The whole project was to cost three million taels.

There were three French schools for design and construction and three English schools, one for engineering and the other two for theoretical navigation. The number of students soon reached 300. Actually 15 ships were completed in the specified years, of which the first was the warship *Yan Nien Ch'ing*, or *Thousand Years of Peace*. The largest of them was the corvette *Yang Wu*, with a displacement of 1393 tons and horse-power of 500, while she mounted 13 guns.

Giquel, who died in harness in 1886, after serving over twenty years with the Chinese Government, was the only other foreigner, besides General Gordon, who was awarded the honour of the Yellow Riding Jacket.

In 1884 the war with France broke out and while Tso was absent in seeking the naval action of Ma Wei took place, in which nine Chinese ships were burnt and sunk in twelve minutes with 3000 casualties. Admiral Courbet had instructions to bombard the Foochow arsenal and much damage resulted.

The news was a terrible blow to the old statesman. He hurried back to Peking and avert further destruction. In March 1885 he memorialized the throne on the urgency of mining for iron and coal in Fukien; he ended on a note of dignified importunity to action. He said:

The memorialist is now old. He has no far-reaching plan by which he can decrease the sorrows of the Emperor. He is full of indignation from witnessing the days of trial and difficulty through which we are passing. Although the mining of iron and the manufacture of ships and guns are



not easy tasks, they are urgently needed and can be delayed no longer. May the Throne be requested to give orders to the high officials at Court to consider these proposals immediately, and carefully to report back to the Emperor. May his Majesty pass a personal judgement on this matter and enforce it. This will be a blessing to the Nation.

A few months later the old man died at Foochow at the ripe age of 74, having served his country to the utmost extent of his powers.

A Confucian of the old school, averse equally to foreign religion and foreign opium, it was difficult for him to understand the western viewpoint, and despite his eagerness for China to profit from foreign instruction, he remained fundamentally anti-foreign and particularly anti-British. His conception of foreign countries was of the vaguest. To him America was an insignificant island in the western sea and England a land where cannibals roamed and angels flew about. He had, moreover, exaggerated ideas of the prowess of Chinese mechanics, and hoped that his arsenals would shortly turn out ships superior to those of the hated foreigners; and that the construction of steamers would be the 'turning point for China upon which is based the foundation, transforming a poor weak country into a rich and strong one' and that when 'firearms improve, the Island Country (England) would hasten to become a vassal state of China'.

Yet a third reformer whose name must be linked with the 'Scholar soldiers' is the Anhui patriot Li Hung-chang. Although he failed lamentably in his ambition to build an efficient navy, nevertheless he was supremely successful in a more peaceful venture, that of starting China's first shipping firm, the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, thereby laying the foundation of a merchant service. The first steamer to sail under the Chinese flag was the S.S. *Aden*, in December 1872. Another ship was acquired and these two were meant to carry rice to the south. The company was intended to trade with the ports not open to foreign commerce and aimed eventually at ousting all foreign coastal trade.

Well supported by the Chinese merchants, the firm was officially privileged to carry a third of the annual rice tribute up to the north. By 1874 they had a fleet of eight vessels and a total tonnage of 4349. Two years later the company bought all the ships, wharves and property of the historic Shanghai Steam Navigation Company which, as Russell and Co., were the pioneers of steam navigation on the Yangtze River.

By 1877 all these ships were running under the Chinese flag, bringing up the number of the Company's ships to sixteen in 1883.

The Chinese Government assisted their first steamship company with a substantial subsidy and it was hoped that eventually the Chinese would be able to capture the bulk of the trade in steam navigation which had been exclusively in the hands of foreigners, and indeed was to continue to be largely monopolized by them for many years to come.

Inland navigation is in most countries reserved for their own nationals. In China, the Inland Steam Navigation Regulations of 1898 provided that vessels should register at the Treaty Ports, reporting their movements to the customs, for the waterways of the interior were open to foreigners, as indeed they remained until after the last war. At the outbreak of the 1937 hostilities with Japan fully 350,000 tons or 70% of the shipping business on Chinese waters was controlled by foreigners. It was a case of the guest occupying the seat of the host.

In 1885 the Company's prospects improved. The fleet was added to, new routes were opened, and Chinese steamers were to be seen in Singapore. The revolution of 1911, however, destroyed its prosperity as both sides would commandeered ships as it suited them. Later mismanagement, with two profound defects of Chinese commercial and public life, that is to say nepotism and the pernicious compradore system, combined to bring about financial disaster.

From 1923 onwards there was an annual deficit of about  $1\frac{3}{4}$  million dollars, until in 1927 the Company was on the brink of bankruptcy, while the share of steam shipping under the Chinese flag declined from 24 to 9%. The abuses continued unchecked until in 1931 the Government took over the whole concern. By 1934 a small profit was at last shown with a total of 10 ships in operation.

Of the other Chinese shipping companies the only one of any importance was the San peh-Ningshao combine. In 1935 it possessed a fleet of 20 ships. The extent and high standard of China's maritime population has produced material for a type of seaman that compares favourably with those of any other nation. Some Chinese were employed as sailors in the early East Indiamen, so were initiated to the foreign style of ships a very long time ago. All this being taken into account China's record in the modern merchant shipping world of steam is disappointing and mysterious.

## NOTES

## RICHARD WRIGHT, MARINE PAINTER

Mr Oliver Warner ends his authoritative note on Richard Wright (*M.M.*, January 1949) with the remark that 'it is still possible that further paintings by this obscure man may come to light'. A few months ago I was fortunate enough to be able to acquire what is perhaps only the fourth work known to be from his brush. It was picked up for a song at a country auction where it was attributed to Joseph Wright of Derby and described by a conscientious but not very enthusiastic auctioneer as 'a speculative lot'. The canvas measures approximately 24 by 36 in., and was still in its original frame. Possibly at the beginning of the last century, some small paint losses had been made good with considerable skill, an indication that it had been valued by its then owner. One or two passages had been a little scrubbed, but otherwise the painting is in remarkably good shape. The frame, on the other hand, was spoiled beyond remedy. Comparatively recently, it would seem, the gold leaf was stripped off and replaced by a thick coat of cream enamel and what would appear to be a scumble of gold paint.

The subject of the picture can be identified with certainty as the loss of H.M.S. *Prince George* of 90 guns, in 1758. To the best of my knowledge, there exists no other contemporary representation of the disaster which is described at some length in Charnock's *Biographia Navalis* s.v. Broderick. The *Prince George* was escorting an important convoy through the Bay of Biscay, and took fire accidentally in the late afternoon of 13 April. Rear-Admiral Thomas Broderick is depicted transferring to H.M.S. *Glasgow*, and his white flag has been broken out at her mizzen masthead, although in the confusion it has not been struck aboard the doomed flagship. Both ships have turned up into the wind, and there is a heavy sea running. Flames leap up from the waist of the *Prince George*, and her crew crowd aft and swarm down ropes in an attempt to swim down wind to their rescuers. Others more fortunate are being picked up by the *Glasgow's* boats. In the middle distance, two more warships wear to join in the work of mercy, while the convoy appears not to have altered course. In strict fact, the merchantmen would seem to have gone about at the same time as their escorts; they were alleged to have concentrated on picking up flotsam in preference to survivors. Perhaps Wright wishes to stress their callous conduct in order to win the approval of the naval officer by whom the work was almost certainly commissioned. Quite clearly the *Glasgow's* company felt that they had done more than their share.

The composition of the painting is almost exactly that which the artist was to use a year or so later in his 'Battle of Quiberon Bay', now in the National Maritime Museum (*M.M.*, January 1949, Pl. 3). The main points of difference are that we see the starboard quarters of the two ships in the foreground instead of the port, and that the bottom of the picture, never the easiest of passages even for a master, is much less effectively handled. The work as a whole is too sombre to be really attractive or suitable for photographic reproduction, but the ships are extraordinarily well painted so as to recall Brooking at his best. The treatment of the figures, however, must clinch the attribution to Richard Wright, quite apart from the Wright tradition embodied in a label of somewhat later date. True there is confusion with the Joseph Wright of Derby who was so much more fashionable, but it is extraordinarily suggestive that the name Wright should have stuck in an age that fathered its seascapes on Monamy and Brooking. If the dates usually given are correct, Wright was no more than twenty-three when he painted the 'Loss of the *Prince George*', and such is its promise that I wish to advance the suggestion that we may find others of his later works among the unsigned Brookings. This hypothesis would allow us to prune drastically the impossibly large output of our greatest marine painter, and at the same time explain the apparent non-survival of even half-a-dozen works by his only less talented successor.





*BEATRICE ANNIE, E. 80.*



A ROMAN BAS RELIEF BUILT INTO THE WALL OF THE  
CATHEDRAL AT PISA

## LUGGERS OF BEER, SOUTH DEVON

While visiting Beer, South Devon, for 24 hours last September, I was given some details of the sailing luggers that up to 1917 were used from the beach at this little fishing village. To my surprise I was told that these were still three-masted vessels and was shown a photograph of one of them (Pl. 1) which was working up to 1917; she was broken up the next year. The photograph was taken in 1910.

Apart from the three masts there are several points of interest such as the spar or 'foreguard' which is locally called, which was used to boom out the big foresail. The spar fitted into a cringle in the luff of the sail and the butt was lashed round the foremast by a piece of rope permanently ve through a hole in the spar, the rope being about 3 ft. in length; the spar did not extend across the vessel to the opposite gunwale nor did it rest on the thwart. The original photograph showed a bowline on the mainsail luff made fast round the foremast; unfortunately this has not come out in the copy negative. These luggers carried four sails, foresail, mainsail, mizzen and a hard-weather sail called the fore-mizzen, which had three rows of reef points in it and which was set as a foresail in bad weather. Neither the ordinary foresail nor the mainsail could be reefed but the mizzen had two rows of reef points. The sizes of the sails were as follows: foresail, 64 yd., mainsail, 72 yd., mizzen, 30 yd., fore-mizzen, 40 yd. The foresail bumpkin had a very marked downward curve, as those carried on the motor boats of to-day still have, it also had two hooks in it, the one on the outer end being for the big foresail and the inner one for the fore-mizzen. In the calms there were two 'paddles', the port for the starboard side one can be seen just aft of the foremast. The dimensions of the boat in the photograph were 28 ft. o.a., 11 ft. 6 in. beam, 4 ft. depth. The boats always left the beach with only two masts up, the mainmast was only used when out at sea.

After 1917 all the Beer boats had engines in them, though none of the old sailing boats were so fitted; new and slightly smaller boats were specially built to take engines. Presumably this was done because the larger sailing boats plus an engine would have been too heavy to haul up the steep shingly beach, and a boat would have tended to sag and get out of shape. The first engine was fitted in 1915 under the auspices of the Devon Sea Fisheries and was at once a success.

Incidentally, my fisherman informant of the foregoing told me that in 1900 he had a new boat the hull of which cost him £29, the rest of the gear, masts, sails, etc. cost another £50, but he said, it would have been a good deal more than that if he had not cut his own sails, a thing which he always did. I wonder how many of the old sailing fishermen could say the same. H. O. HILL

## 'NEFS' OR 'CORBITAE'?

On opposite p. 113 of his *Naval Warfare under Oars*, Admiral Rogers reproduces an excellent photograph with the caption 'FIG. 13: SHIPS ON THE LEANING TOWER OF PISA. DATE, ABOUT 1200 A.D.' In this finely sculptured relief two merchantmen are shown at sea off a curious three-storied tower.

Mr Pieter van Singelenberg of the Ikonographisch Instituut of the Rijksuniversiteit of Utrecht recently drew my attention to this carving, pointing out that it is of Roman and not of medieval workmanship. The stylistic evidence, which I understand is very cogent, will be found in an article by S. Guyer entitled 'Der Dom von Pisa und das Räbel seiner Entstehung' in the *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F., Vol. ix (1932), pp. 351-76. This theory is certainly supported by closer examination of the relief, where the ships seem much more closely related to the 'corbita' of the late second-century sculpture from Ostia (sometimes known as the 'Portus Ship') than to the 'nefs' of the early thirteenth-century mosaics at Ravenna.

A photograph taken by Mr Singelenberg is reproduced here (Pl. 2), and shows clearly the ship's unusual setting, proof surely of its greater antiquity. It will be interesting to read what members more conversant with Roman shipping will have to write on this subject. It may also



be that some classical enthusiast will identify the tower; perhaps the Pharos of Alexandria or more probably the lighthouse at Ostia. It is certainly not the Pharos of the Great Palace at Constantinople, and this may seem yet another argument against the relief being medieval in its origin.

R.H.D.

### THE ARK ROYAL

In *M.M.*, Vol. iv, p. 155, Mr Morton Nance said 'it seems quite possible, however, that the *Ark Royal*, built with eight turrets as we see her in the Canterbury picture, had six of these encumbrances cleared away at some time, while the two aftermost turrets were kept as poetic lanterns'. The assumption that the *Ark Royal* formerly had eight turrets depended on the identification of the Canterbury panel; it appears that this identification rested solely on the fact that the painting showed battlementwise garniture, which we know from Phineas Pett was a characteristic of the *Ark Royal* in 1604. In his interesting note on Visscher's *Arca Rale* (*M.M.*, October 1951, p. 319) Mr Nance refers without qualification to the turrets which were a part of her earlier decoration. Can Mr Nance offer further evidence in support of this?

L. R. ROY

### ENEMY NAVAL COMMANDERS

In connexion with Mr L. G. H. Horton-Smith's article 'Called Into Action by Her Majesty' and his insistence that modern research very correctly emphasizes the high state of efficiency of the Spanish naval forces defeated by the English in the sixteenth century, I think it is worth recalling that on the two occasions when England's sailing navy was put to the bitterest test against the navies of Philip II and Napoleon I, the most competent and experienced host commander happened to die just before the decisive campaign, Santa Cruz in the first case, La Touche-Tréville in the second. This is not to suggest that the outcome of either campaign could finally have been different, but there is not much doubt that the task of the English commanders would have been made considerably harder had their opponents been abler than Medina Sidonia and Villeneuve, courageous though these leaders were.

J. DE C.

### THE BROTHERS KIRKE

I believe that 'the brothers Kirke', who captured Quebec in 1629 (review of G. S. Graham's *Empire of the Atlantic*, *M.M.*, October 1951, p. 335) were in fact Huguenot refugees from Dieppe, which adds piquancy to the whole affair.

J. DE C.

### THE OSTENDE COMPANY

Following the article on the Maritime Museums of the Netherlands, by Mr H. Philip Spratt (*M.M.*, July 1950) in which reference is made to the Ostende Company, and to Mr O. Buyssens's note (*M.M.*, February 1952) regarding ships of this company, we are further indebted to Mr Buyssens for the sight of his interesting article published (in Flemish) in the 1938-9 Annual Report of the Belgian Marine Academy. Unfortunately pressure on space does not permit a full translation, with nine illustrations, but a synopsis of the historical data may perhaps interest readers.

As a result of the development of private ventures to China, India and Arabia, the need was felt in the Austrian Netherlands to found a company on similar lines to those earlier East India Companies established by England and Holland. Thus, on 19 December 1722, by decree of the Emperor Charles VI, was formed the *Generale Keizerlijke Indische Compagnie* (General Imperial Indian Company), generally known as the Ostende Company. It had only a short life, being suspended in 1727 and abolished in 1731.

Nevertheless, a number of interesting ships were in use during this period, and, indeed, earlier, since the first ship sailed in 1715 from Ostende for China, and the numbers steadily increased from that date until 1725, when the Company ordered its last ships. The vessels were smaller than those of their English and Dutch competitors, one reason for this being that the channel at the entrance to Ostende harbour allowed no deeper draught than 17 ft. The usual types were the

small East Indiaman, the West Indiaman, or the Levant trader, armed to counter the attacks of pirates. The Company owned outright some thirteen ships, of which six were built in Holland, four in England, two in Hamburg and one in Ostende; furthermore, they had an interest in several others, known as *armements indirects*, two of which, the *Seepeert* or *Cheval Marin* (sea-horse) built at Trieste, and the *Phoenix* (formerly the small *Prince Eugene*), belonged to a syndicate of which the Ostende shipowner, Thomas Ray (also a director of the Company) was the most interested party.

So far only two authentic drawings of the Company's ships have come to light. The first, probably dating from 1724, is on a map of the Bay of Praya, Azores, in the journal of Laville-richard, lieutenant of the *Arent*. It shows three ships, the *St Carolus*, *Arent* and *H. Elisabeth*; these are three-masted ships, similarly rigged; they appear to have the round tops of the seventeenth century, although by this time the square type with rounded fore edge had already begun to replace the earlier pattern. The mizzen masts each show a lateen yard, but with a gaffsail, brailed to the mast. The Dutch were probably the first to introduce this improvement, and the Belgians quickly followed, as they did with the abolition of the spritsail topmast.

The second document is from the journal of Peter Valckenier, mate of the *Concordia*, which sailed from Ostende on 24 January 1727; the journal is in the library of Ghent University, and contains a map showing the *Concordia* and the *Marquis de Prie* off the island of Fernando Noronha. The ships are sketched on a very small scale and only show general features.

Mr Buysens describes many of the features of the ships of the Company's fleet, illustrated by several photographs of models, some of which have previously appeared in *The Mariner's Mirror*, vol. xviii, and he concludes the article with a list of the ships, as follows:

*St Carolus* (ex *St Franciscus Xaverius*); built in Holland; taken over by J. Maelcamp, merchant of Ghent, in 1723.

*H. Elisabeth* (ex *Stadt Brugge*); built in Holland; bought in 1723 from B. van der Grift, Amsterdam.

*Arent* (ex *Wirtenbergh*, ex *Graeve de Lalaing*); built in England; sailed in 1719, as *Wirtenbergh*, to China, under Captain P. van Maestricht; as *Graeve de Lalaing* belonged to a syndicate of which P. De Kimpe of Ghent and Thomas Ray of Ostende, merchants, were the chief interested parties. Sold by public auction at Ostende, in 1723, and knocked down to a nominee of De Kimpe and Ray; thereafter taken over by the Company.

*St Carolus Sextus* (ex *Elisabeth*); built in Holland; bought new in 1722 by the merchants A. De Pret of Antwerp and J. B. Soenens of Ghent; taken over by the Company in 1724.

*Apollon* (ex *Twee Gebroeders*); built at Amsterdam; bought in 1724.

*Marquis de Prie* (ex *Stadt Gendt*); built in England; taken over in 1724, from the syndicate of De Pret, Maelcamp, De Kimpe, and Coninck (later directors of the Company).

*Prince George* (ex *Neptune*); built at London; bought while on the stocks, 1725.

*Andry*, later *Neptune* (ex *Andry*, ex *Carteret*, ex *Stadt Napels*); built in England; bought at public auction in London, 1725.

*St Guillelmo*, ex *Le Comte de Toulouse*); built in Holland; bought at Amsterdam in 1725.

*L'Esperance*); built in Holland; bought at Amsterdam in 1725.

*Hertoginne Marie-Elisabeth*; built at Hamburg; ordered in 1725 and arrived at Ostende in 1726.

*Concordia*; built at Hamburg; ordered in 1725 and arrived at Ostende in 1726.

*Hertogh van Lorreynden*; built at Ostende; launched in 1727.

ALEC A. PURVES

## THE TONNAGE OF THE FIRST *BRITANNIA*

Our *Ship Lists* (Pt. 1) the tonnage of the *Britannia* of 1682 is given as 1708. This (or 1703) is the figure appearing in several contemporary lists, but it is actually based on the girdled Beam of 48 ft. 8 in., whereas the ship's original Beam was 47 ft. 4 in. Another set of lists give 1739; these use the correct Beam with an exaggerated Keel-length of 146 ft., which must be either the

'Tread' or, if the ship had an 'upright stem', the real as opposed to the calculated 'Touch measure'.

If we accept the Keel and Beam as they appear in *Ship Lists*, we get a calculated Tonnage of 1615. It is, however, just possible that the Keel-length of 135 ft. 8 in. was obtained by using  $\frac{3}{5}$  of the girdled Beam; if so, it has to be increased by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in., that being  $\frac{3}{5}$  of the difference made by girdling. This would make the original Tonnage, calculated in the same way as for other ships of the time, about 1625. The point is not very important, but seems worth mentioning.

R. C. ANDERSON

## DESCRIPTION OF ROYAL AND SIGNAL COLOURS, ETC. (1702 TO 1837)

Those interested in flags and signals are certainly indebted to Commander Hilary P. Mead for so ably writing up the mine of valuable information contained in the recently discovered Admiralty collection of documents, etc. Such record books are all too rare, and one wonders what has happened to earlier and later volumes.

Not only have we chapter and verse for a number of alterations, but a wide field for further research in a number of instances. A few points are still obscure, and, furthermore, the drawings, although detailed, are in some instances almost certainly misleading.

Item No. 46, showing the Customs and Excise ensigns and pendants in use at 21 December 1816 (just before the introduction of the new ones, on 10 February 1817) is one of the points on which more light would be welcome. The designs shown for the Custom House are not recognized by the Librarian of H.M. Customs and Excise as ones belonging to that office. From 1694 (and possibly earlier) until their fleet was taken over by the Royal Navy in 1815, the Customs vessels had worn an ensign with a castellated gateway (incorporating a portcullis) in the fly; at first in a Red Ensign, and from 1784 in a Blue Ensign (although old correspondence shows that some Customs officers interpreted the Act of 1784 to mean that they were to hoist both red and blue pendants and ensigns). It would appear unlikely that the Navy would have operated these vessels under a 'Public Office' ensign, and probably introduced the 'crown and star' as a distinctive badge, but where is the documentary proof of this? If this theory is correct, then these ensigns and pendants were in use only from 1815 to February 1817, when they were both replaced by the Imperial Crown in a Red Ensign and red pendant. These were retained by the Customs and Excise when they regained control of their vessels in 1822, and remained unchanged until 1872, when the Admiralty drew their attention to the fact that they should have changed to a Blue Ensign and blue pendant eight years previously, under the Act of 1864!

Incidentally, the Admiralty book shows the 1817 pendant as having a split fly, but a Customs notice of 1829 shows it without a split, and this borne out by two very old pendants which I have been permitted to examine at the Customs and Excise Library.

I am rather suspicious of the apparently careful drawings of the signal flags of 1761, and, since they contain several inaccuracies, do not feel that they necessarily prove that twenty-two horizontal stripes or one hundred and seventy-six ( $16 \times 11$ ) squares were the numbers actually used; also they appear to be much too long in relation to the hoist, and they are all shown with ribbands or loops, whereas at that date halyards were certainly in use for signal purposes. From Kempenfelt's letters to Middleton (*Letters of Lord Barham*, Vol. 1, N.R.S. 1906), admittedly dated twenty years later, there is evidence of signal flags of 27 ft. by 16 ft. 6 in., with *seven* horizontal stripes, also *twelve or fifteen* squares (specified), while frigate sizes seem to be 15 ft. by 10 ft., other evidence of the same period shows similar proportions.

From these points it would appear that these signal flags may have been drawn by somebody who worked from written descriptions which did not specify the numbers of stripes or squares. At this date signals were certainly sufficiently advanced for any naval officer to realize that at a distance, even with large flags, twenty-two stripes would not make a clear design, while 176 squares would just appear as a blur.

Nevertheless, there is much of value and interest in this old record book, and we are fortunate in having such a detailed description at our disposal.

ALEC A. PURVES



## A MISREADING OF SIR JULIAN CORBETT

the late Captain J. F. Ruthven wrote several essays in the *M.M.* giving a very rosy picture of the Elizabethan Age. At times he was discursive and wandered into subjects seeming to me rather outside the range of our Society; there was one subject, however, which was well within range and upon it he concentrated with intensity; this was the late Sir Julian Corbett's *Drake and the Tudor Navy*. I have always felt that Corbett rated Drake too high, and even had the temerity many years ago to find fault with his handling of the Drake *v.* Doughty affair. Naturally I was wildly surprised to find that Corbett is now condemned as a detractor of Drake.

To support his contention Captain Ruthven accused Corbett: (i) Of not troubling to read and write a letter of Don Pedro de Valdez in which Drake is referred to as a gentleman. He did refer to the letter in a foot-note. (ii) Of saying that Burleigh looked on Drake as a pirate and was his enemy; whereas he was a friend and recommended Drake for the command of the 1581 project. The answer to this is that Corbett devoted four or five pages to the 1581 affair, and makes it clear that the two men were sometimes friendly and sometimes at loggerheads. (iii) Of saying that Drake was the prince of corsairs of whom we are half ashamed to be proud. These three accusations did no more I am afraid than prove that Captain Ruthven was a very careless reader.

Mr L. Graham H. Horton-Smith repeats this third accusation (*M.M.*, October 1951). Because I do not suppose one in ten of those who read the article afterwards referred to the book, here is what Corbett wrote:

... So it came about that he [Drake] was denied the opportunity of proving the tremendous force of his ideas, and he passed to posterity, as the narrow view of his contemporaries could see him, with a renown it is true, so great as to become at once almost mythical, yet not for what he was. For those who reaped the harvest he had sown, he lived not as the father of a new art of war—which with an originality of conception, a directness of purpose, and a breadth of view hardly ever surpassed, he created out of the fulness of his genius—but rather as a daring navigator and a prince of corsairs of whom we are half ashamed to be proud....

Mr Horton-Smith says that what Corbett wrote 'has had deplorable results, having echoed and re-echoed both at home and abroad for more than half a century'.

Now what is it that has gone echoing and re-echoing round the world for half a century?

Is it the late Sir Julian Corbett's statement that Francis Drake was the father of a new art of war which with an originality of conception, a directness of purpose, and a breadth of view hardly ever surpassed, he created out of the fulness of his genius? Or is it the statement that Drake was the prince of corsairs, which statement, Mr Horton-Smith and some of his friends have attempted to father upon Corbett? And which of the two has produced the deplorable results? Mr Horton-Smith's or Corbett's?

But Corbett is not the only deceased author censured by those 'who have the honour of the ad at heart'. We are told that it was probably Bishop Mandell-Creighton who started the idea in 1896 that the exploits of Queen Elizabeth's seamen were illicit and performed against the wishes of the statesmen. Here we have the measure of the reading of these good people. It would be perfectly simple to quote from the literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, showing that the performances of Drake were considered illicit, not to say piratical in some cases, and that these were winked at by those in authority; but I propose to confine myself to one quotation from the nineteenth century from a book certainly written before Bishop Mandell-Creighton wrote down his heretical views about Elizabethan seamen. I wonder how many will recognize the source of this quotation.

Sir Francis Drake, the first man who ever sailed his ship round the world was born in Devonshire, and went to sea with some other brave gentlemen, to carry on a war against some towns which the Spaniards had built in South America. This was very wrong, because private persons have no business to make war, and take towns, and make prisoners of the townspeople. Such things should only be done when there is a lawful war between two

countries. Then, indeed, every man must do his duty, and fight as well as he can for his own country and King. If private gentlemen were to go and take towns belonging to other countries, now, they would be called PIRATES, and they would be hanged.

However, as Sir Francis Drake grew older, he left off making private war [and] became one of the Queen's best admirals.

Unfortunately the title-page of my copy is missing, but I am sure someone will be able to tell us the exact date of the publication of *Little Arthur's History of England*.

GREGORY ROBINSON

### THE LOSS OF H.M.S. *REVENGE*, 1591

Dr R. C. Anderson's simple question as to what new evidence was brought to light by Mr Barrington in his article about the loss of the *Revenge* (*M.M.*, October 1950) brought forth no plain answer. Instead we have two Notes from two other gentlemen (*M.M.*, October 1951) both explaining, how in an attempt to save space, brevity had led Mr Barrington to omit the new evidence. I think they are hard in saying he does not tell us of the new evidence and rather charitable when they commend him for his brevity; for surely four pages is full measure and over, in which to say that Grenville behaved as he did, to stop Bazan from reaching the Narrow Seas, and that Bertendona described Grenville as the most high-spirited man on Earth. Dr Anderson, we may imagine, asked the question because while he would know the first was untrue, he could not bring himself to believe that so much pother could be made out of so small and indisputable a matter as the second. Nor could he believe the new evidence was to be found in Bertendona's claim to have captured the *Revenge* singlehanded; for then the whole story of the fight between the One and the Fifty-three would all come crashing down, and that would never do. So we picture Dr Anderson sitting with knitted brow, still perplexed, puzzled and bewildered.

In telling the story, Mr Barrington uses once again Raleigh's matchless prose embellished with Tennyson's happy versification of it, together with other poetical tributes, rounded off with the well-known quotation from Linschoten. The tale based on this material always has puzzled the critical; Grenville's humanity is praised for refusing to forsake his ninety sick ashore, and a few hours afterwards he is raised to the rank of hero when he contemplates blowing to pieces these same poor fellows lying helpless on the ballast, without so much as a by-your-leave: ninety of them, remember; it would have been rather like torpedoing a hospital ship. And then those who have watched men die, will think it strange that Sir Richard was able to make a speech of considerable length in a foreign language at his passing. Linschoten, to whom we owe the wording, was not present; it was mere hearsay. Instead of this speech, extolling his own great virtues and abusing his crew for their shortcomings, it is pleasanter to think that Gervase Markham's story of the end was true; how Sir Richard never spoke a word after being carried on board the Spanish flagship.

The remarkable thing about the article is that it contains no mention of Sir William Monson's account of the action. True he was not present, but he was likely to have served with those who were. Not many years after he was to attain flag rank; he was a seaman, and cannot be treated as a mere gossip. What does he say about it?

Monson says:

Upon view of the Spaniards, which were fifty-five sail, the Lord Thomas, like a wary and discreet general, weighed anchor and made signs to the rest of his fleet to do the like, with a purpose to get the wind of them, and so doing he was secured from them whatever they were. But Sir Richard Greynville being a stubborn man and imagining the fleet to come from the Indies, and not to be the Armada of which they were informed, would by no means be persuaded by his master or company to cut his cable to follow his Admiral, as all discipline of war did teach him, nay, so headstrong, rash, and unadvised he was that he offered violence to all those that counselled him to the contrary.

He goes on to say that Grenville having discovered his mistake 'would gladly have acquitted himself of them, which then to the best of his power he endeavoured, but too late'. There is

Spanish evidence which shows he might well have mistaken the Armada for the Flota: the escort for the convoy. Herrera says Bazan planned his approach 'in such a manner that the English might imagine them, when they were discovered, to be the Flota'. Then it has been pointed out that when in Raleigh's *True Report* he says, when Grenville had committed himself to battle, 'the other course had been the better,' indicating that at one time there had been a choice and he had turned the wrong way.

Now all this was published by the Navy Records Society fifty years ago, and it seems odd that Mr Barrington did not think it worth mentioning. Perhaps the kindest thought is, that he has never heard of Sir William Monson nor of the five volumes of his *Naval Tracts* edited by Oppenheim. It is not enough to dismiss Monson's account as inspired by jealousy, and it will not do to ignore a scholar of Oppenheim's weight, or to treat him as one of those nineteenth-century impressionists who did not stick too closely to the documents; he certainly missed very few naval papers at the P.R.O., as any who have followed him know well.

However, we now hear of instructions, hitherto unknown, addressed to Sir Richard Grenville and his Admiral where they are told to 'avert the Spanish attack which Her Majesty's ministers apprehended'. Mr Barrington after telling of Grenville's death exclaims, 'most effectually had Sir Richard obeyed the order to prevent King Philip's fleets reaching the Narrow Seas!' Here I think he is a little neglectful of the claims of Providence to have had a share in the operation. At the highest figure only five ships were sunk by the *Revenge*; the Spaniards say only two; then long came the hurricane and of 140 only 33 ships returned to Spain. We learn further that the object was to harry the enemy on his own coast to prevent this attack on England or France; seemingly as a secondary object it was to endeavour to capture the Flota.

I suppose all naval operations are ultimately for the defence of the Kingdom; the preamble to the Articles of War suggests they are, I think; and in more ancient times the defence of the Narrow Seas was as it were the preamble to all orders, stated or understood. But it is strange that these instructions described as 'hitherto unknown' should be addressed to the Vice-Admiral as well as the Commander-in-Chief. All those we have are addressed to Lord Thomas Howard with no mention of Sir Richard Grenville. Again, whatever the instruction, it was the Earl of Cumberland who harried the enemy coast and the object of the main fleet was the capture of the Flota.

Now let us look at the orders or rather drafts of them, to be found at the Public Record Office. Original spelling as well as the usual trials of sixteenth-century script occasionally make reading difficult, and here I have had the ready help of Mr Kenneth Timings. First we have S.P. 12-238 f 152 endorsed XV May 1591, *A Memoryall made by the Ld Admyrall*. It begins: 'Remembrances to Lord Thos Howard' who is warned of an enemy fleet lying between 'youshante and the Iles of Ile.' In consequence he is to keep his prizes with him until he returns with all his forces and is to warn merchantmen and such as be 'abrod in reprysall' to have a care in their homecoming. On Lord Thomas's judgement is left whether it is better lying at the islands for the 'Indyan fleet' or at Cape St Mary, though he is told that men of experience think the Cape is the surer. Obviously what the Lord Admiral had in mind was the capture of the Flota or Indyan fleet as he called it, and he was not expecting any help from Howard in the Channel, in fact in the margin written 'to wrighte to the Stats to stranken well the Narro Sces': *Stats* meaning States of Holland and *stranken* is good North Country for strengthen.

Needless to say there is no sign of panic or flap in the Lord Admiral's memo, though there are signs of excitement in Lord Burleigh's written two days afterwards. However, all quieted down again when it was discovered that the enemy fleet was no more than a squadron of pinnaces hovering the landing of Spanish troops in Brittany.

In S.P. 12-239 f. 52 we have the draft of the Lord Treasurer and Lord Admiral's orders dated June 1591. Again it is clear that the only anxiety is to help Lord Thomas to maintain himself on the Flota's route. He is told how, because the Queen has heard of a fleet fitting out in Spain to send to meet the Flota and 'Her Majesty understanding by your advertysment yt ye fleete yt is come from the Havana is wafted from hence by 2 or 3 and twenty armados so as it is likely ey come very strongly,' she is sending the *Lyon* and *Foresight* and that the City at her request is



sending six armed merchantmen as a reinforcement. Victuals (which Lord Burleigh, sensible fellow, spells vidells) when they arrive are to be disposed 'as you think good for the longest continuance of your service.'

So, as early as 21 June it was known in England that Bazan when ready for sea was bound for the Islands, and it is reasonable to suppose that the weight of his force was also known. And since it was of the utmost importance to Spain that the Flota should come safely to port, we may be sure that the fleet sent out to meet it was as strong as Spain could put forth in 1591. That such a fleet was of too little force to attempt a second invasion is clear, because it was hoped that when Lord Thomas was reinforced: 'your Lordship's forces will be suche as with godes goodness you shalbe hable to do good service'. This must mean it was considered that five of the Queen's medium-sized ships and six armed merchantmen were of force sufficient to take care of Bazan and the armed escort of the Flota. It is beyond doubt that for the defence of the Channel Sir Henry Palmer would have been provided with a much larger force than Lord Thomas had in the Azores, and therefore Mr Barrington's new theory that Grenville sacrificed his life and his ship to prevent Bazan's force 'reaching the Narrow Seas' will not do.

As the Spanish fleet came out of Ferrol, Cumberland who was watching, ordered Captain Middleton in the *Moonshine* to keep company until he was sure of the course it took. As soon as it was clear the course was for the Azores, the *Moonshine* ran helter-skelter for Flores to let Lord Thomas know what was coming to him. Middleton arrived to find a fleet with half its men down with sickness; the largest ship, the *Bonaventure* with not enough men to hand her mainsail. The *Lyon* and the *Foresight* with the viddlers had come in good time, the London squadron unfortunately had not, Bazan coming before them. So Lord Thomas cleared out hoping to be able to carry out his orders later when his men were in better health and when the *Susan*, *Centurion*, *Mayflower*, *Margaret* and *John*, *Corslet* and *Cherubim* had joined him. This squadron out of London, described 'as the best appoynted of any that ever we saw goe hence' we know later had a good picking from the Flota because there is a Privy Council order to Drake in the West telling him to see that the mariners did not 'make away with shorte ends and soche things as they may come bye' out of their prizes.

If we could imagine a court-martial assembled to try the surviving officers and men of H.M.S. *Revenge* for the loss of their ship, I wonder what the findings would be. I wonder whether a second court would be ordered to try Lord Thomas Howard. I am rather inclined to think not.

After all violent actions it is generally hard to get hold of a coherent story, and legends begin to blossom at once. This making of a bitter speech in Spanish accusing his own people of cowardice as he lay dying seems to me apiece with the tale of Grenville chewing wineglasses till the blood ran out of his mouth 'by way of convivial levity'; whence Stevenson had this I do not know. It even seems to me probable that this story of his commanding the master-gunner to blow up the ship may have grown out of an order to blow up the *Revenge's* deck when it was crowded with boarding Spaniards, a stratagem recommended in Elizabethan days as a last resort.

I confess I would like to see all bombastic and hysterical stuff cut away; to believe that he never made that blackguardly speech about his own people, that he never intended to blow his sick to smithereens, and that he was not such a silly ass as to chew wineglasses for fun. I would have Sir Richard Grenville remembered as a gallant, likeable but wilful fellow who made a mistake and having made it, did his best to make good. And so let him rest.

GREGORY ROBINSON

## QUERIES

8. TWO GALWAY SHIPS. Can anyone tell me details of any kind of two Galway ships, one *Rachel*, built there in the 1790's, which successfully completed her maiden voyage to Philadelphia I think in 1799: the other the *O'Connell*, said to be the first steamship owned in Galway, and known from one or two old prints and a mention in Head's *The Tour in Ireland*, 1849?

J. DE C. I.

9. BRIDGWATER DOCK DREDGER. When in Bridgwater recently I saw what must be one of the best steam vessels still afloat, the Bridgwater dock dredger, which I was told was built in 1845 and was then the last word in modern dredgers. Can anybody supply details of the origin and story of this remarkable craft?

I. DE C. I.

10. GALWAY HOOKER. Can anyone tell me where I can find a detailed description of the Galway hooker, and any information as to the origin of this remarkable craft?

A. MACDERMOTT

11. COMPASS CARD. Has the origin of the word *card* in the term 'compass card' been definitely established? If so, what is the accepted origin or derivation of the word? In my research I came to the conclusion that the word *card*, originally, did not mean either paper or cardboard. It seems to me that it might have been taken from the Latin *cardo* meaning *hinge* and implying *turning*. Also, *cardo* embodies the idea of *fundamental importance*, hence, later, the four *cardinal* points of the compass, north, south, east, and west.

If any reader could supply the answer, I would appreciate it indeed.

GRENVILLE ZERFASS

12. H.M.S. *QUEEN*, 1839. In an account of the launching of this ship it is stated that the ceremony was carried out by a Miss Whitby. I have been unable to trace anything about this lady and should be grateful if any member can provide the answer. Was she the daughter or relative of some celebrity?

G. H. D. STONE

13. VENETIAN MANUSCRIPTS. A very important collection of ancient books and manuscripts, once the property of a Don Matteo Canonici, who died in Venice in 1796, was bought in 1816 by the Bodleian Library, with the exception of two manuscripts which were acquired by the Sig. Perissinotti who later sold them to the Rev. Walter Sneyd of Bagington Rectory, Coventry. In 1903 the Sneyd Collection was sold by auction, the majority of the works passing into the hands of the late C. Fairfax Murray and subsequently into the Dyson Perrins Collection, but as there is no mention of these two Venetian manuscripts in the Perrins catalogue, it must be assumed that they remained in what was left of the Sneyd Library and were then sold in minor sales either at Sotheby's on 28 November 1927 or at Hodgson's on 26 March 1929. From that time, it seems, all trace of them has been lost.

Title of manuscript No. 1, was:

L'Architettura navale di Stefano de Zuanne de Michel. Vice proto de' marangoni, e regole per fabricare ogni sorte di navi, galere, galeazze, caichi, felucche, etc et ogni altro bastimento solito a fabricarsi tanto nella stessa casa che fuori. Con disegni e dichiarazioni per formare li sestì e partizioni per fabbricarsi, et uno discorso sull'uso delle altre nazioni tanto per le navi che per le galere, con una descrizione delle misure degli alberi ed antenne, come pure delle differenze del governo dei timoni alla ponentina da quelli alla Faustina. Si descrive anco la qualità e grossezza de' legnami che si adoperano in ciascun bastimento con li avvertimenti delle cose essenziali. Si avverte lo scrittore aversi accostato a' decreti dell'Ecc.mo Senato ed all'uso sin qui praticato e che tuttavia si pratica. Opera d'applicazione e fatica descritta e disegnata di sua mano in Venezia l'anno 1686.

Title of manuscript No. 2, was:

Libro di piante delle navi Venete fatto nell'anno 1697 sotto il comando dell'Illustrissimo Sr. Bortolo Contarini Cavaliere per la Ser. ma Repubblica di Venezia Capitano Straordinario delle Navi con molti belli disegni.

I should be grateful if some member could provide information or suggestions.

G. B. RUBIN DE CERVIN

14. PARTICULARS OF H.M.S. *VIXEN*. In the Municipal Museum of Science and Industry at Newcastle-on-Tyne, there is a drawing showing a sectional elevation and a plan of H.M.S. *Vixen*. No scale is indicated, and there is no date, in fact there is no written information except the title. The ship appears to be a wooden paddle gun-boat: she has three decks, all the armament being on the upper-deck which is sheltered by topgallant bulwarks. The main armament is on the middle line; one gun before the foremast, the other abaft the mizzen: these guns are painted grey in the drawing and were, presumably, made of cast iron. Eight other guns, four at the broadside ports and four smaller ones inboard, and having no obvious ports, appear to have been made of brass.

On the top of each paddle-box, there is what looks like an inverted life-boat. The ship has little or no sheer. No rigging is shown, and only the lower masts and bowsprit are indicated. The engines are vertical, while the boilers, which appear to be rectangular, are arranged parallel to the axis of the ship, the furnaces being athwartships.

I should be most grateful if any reader could give me any information about this vessel. From the drawing, I should date her somewhere between 1840 and 1860.

A. HESLOP

15. DOG WATCHES AND MIDDLE WATCH. Hariot (Hariot's *Mathematical Papers*, Vol. VII, p. 223, Add. MSS. 6788) on a page entitled 'Notes ab. the officers of a ship', on which he gives the shares and establishment of a ship's company, has scribbled on the right-hand lower corner: 'The watch from 4 to 8 at night is divided into two partes. The first? [the word is illegible] parte frō 4 to 8 they call the *look out*.'

These two partes are as two watches, that the same men may not have the first watch.

If the first watch beginnes at 8 at night, then they get the watch.

1. Watch

2. Watch

Day watch or morning watch.'

A circular diagram illustrates the arrangements whereby watch 'a' starting with the first watch, 8 p.m. to midnight, is shown to finish with the 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. watch, now called the 'Last Dog' in the Royal Navy and 'Second Dog' in the Merchant Navy.

This is the earliest reference that I know to the Dog Watch system. Does any member or reader know of an earlier one? When did the expression the *Look-out watch* become superseded by *First Dog watch*? Hariot clearly calls the 8 p.m. to midnight watch *The First*, and the midnight to 4 a.m. watch *The Second*; when did the term *Middle Watch* come into use? Why was the 8 p.m. to midnight *The First Watch* when, for coasting craft the Day began at midnight and for vessels navigating out of sight of land, at noon, twelve hours earlier?

Hariot was writing between 1590 and 1610.

D. W. WATERS

16. PORT AND STARBOARD LIGHTS. When were the red and green port and starboard lights, now universally carried at sea, introduced and who suggested the arrangement? Were they adopted first by Great Britain and first made compulsory in British waters? Did other nations follow our lead in this matter by some common agreement? It would be interesting to know the detailed history of this method of indicating the position and course of an oncoming vessel and how it secured general favour.

T. S. LASCELLES



## ANSWERS

11. COMPASS CARD. I do not think that Mr Zerfass's suggestions are very probable since, as will be seen below, *card* did not come into use until the seventeenth century, and in Moxon's *Mathematical Dictionary*, 1700, we find: 'Chart or card from Lat. Charta, paper, A Draught of sea-coasts. . . . Tis also sometimes taken for the round paste-board whereon the 32 Points are described in the Nautical compass.' Murray's *English Dictionary*, 1888, and others give the same derivation. The earliest dates at which I can find the various words for a compass card are: *circle* by Barlowe, 1597; *flie* by Barlowe in 1597 and 1616: he says that the *flie* is the Circle with the Wyars attached. *Fly* by Blundeville in 1613: Norie uses this as late as 1894 and says that it is the Card without the Needles. *Card* by Norwood in 1662; *chard* and *chart* by Sturmy in 1669; *chard* is used by Barrow as late as 1750.

W. Folkingham, *Art of Survey*, 1610, says: 'The flie is a Card diuided into eight, sixteene, thirty two equal parts', and this would appear to indicate most definitely the connexion at that date in men's minds between a compass card and a paper. There are a number of early references to a sea-man's card such as: 'All the Quarters that they know I' th' Ship-mans Card' in Macbeth (1605), and 'Knowledge of the sea-carde & compasse' in Eden's *Decades of the West Indies* (1555), but these are much more likely to refer to a chart than to a compass card.

W. E. M.

15. (1951.) PADDLE SLOOP *SPHINX*. She was a paddle composite special service vessel, built by R. and H. Green of Blackwall, launched 1882. Dimensions, 200 ft. x 32 ft. x 10 ft. 4 in. Mean draught, 1130 tons displacement. Designed I.H.P. 1100 = 12.5 knots. Coal capacity, 30 tons. Complement 91. Armament, original, one 6-in. B.L.R., six 4-in. B.L.R. Rearmed, four 4-in. Q.F., two 7-pdr. Q.F. Placed on sale list 1920. She spent most of her life surveying, based on Aden. If Mr E. Sidney Marks has further information I would be very glad to have it.

T. ELSTON WING

22. (1951.) THE CAPTAINS' OX-TONGUES. The issue of these continued till the year 1915 and perhaps later. I know that I received my 'proportion' of tongues in that year. As far as I remember the tongues were counted in dozens: but a 'dozen' was not necessarily twelve; it might be more, or less, according to the quantities available in the victualling yard.

A. MACDERMOTT

23. (1951.) GAB-ROPE (also gob-rope, gaub-rope and gob-line). The gab-ropes were more commonly known as 'back-ropes' in the Royal Navy. They were fitted in pairs, the foremost ends being shackled to an eye-bolt in the band of the dolphin-striker, and the after ends set up with purchases to a bolt before the cat-head. They were often made of chain. A. MACDERMOTT

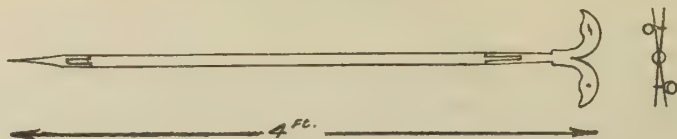
24. (1951.) *BRITANNIA*, EAST-INDIAMAN. The last *Britannia* mentioned in the printed *List of Marine Records of the late East India Company* appears to have been in service from 1803 to 1808.

R. C. A.

26. (1951.) 'NIP AND TUCK.' This comes from the United States where it was a horse-racing word for 'neck and neck', in common use in the South, where an excited backer was heard to say, in 1832, 'There is not a nip of brandy between them.'

A. F. WHYTE

28. (1951.) **EARLY GUN DRILL.** I enclose a drawing I have made of a linstock in the Armouries of the Tower of London. I do not know whether it is for sea service, but the date is about 1800. I have seen another of similar design in the Rotunda at Woolwich, encased to protect the match.



### *Linstock.*

The casing is of sheet tin and easily takes apart. In the example depicted the match is wound round the shaft and taken through the two jaws which are tightened by two thumb-screws.

There is further information in Falconer's *Marine Dictionary* 1780, under the heading 'Cannon.'

JOHN N. HAMPTON

'Stop your vents': The vent of a muzzle-loading gun was closed during the process of sponging and loading the piece. The gunner concerned closed the vent with his thumb, protected by a thumb-stall, for the gun got quite hot in action. About the 1870's a vent plug of leather-covered brass, fastened to the gun by a lanyard, was provided. The purpose was to prevent a rush of air through the narrow vent, which might rekindle any remaining fragment of the previous charge. This would be particularly dangerous to the man ramming home the new cartridge, as in event of a premature explosion he was certain to lose his hands, if nothing worse. Ashore he was wont to remind any opposite number who might be forgetful, in a rather forceful manner. Thus the receipt of a sharp reproof is still sometimes described as 'being hit over the head with the rammer'. Possibly the low head-room between decks and the use of rope rammers prevented this from becoming a nautical expression.

Flintlocks: The linstock was a staff about 30 in. long, with a ferrule and point at the lower end. Round it was wrapped a length of slow match, the burning end of which was held at the upper end of the staff, either by a mortice and peg or by a clip and thumb screw. After the gun was loaded it was primed by the captain of the gun, who then stood in the rear to take aim and direct the pointing of the piece. A man standing at the side, out of the path of recoil, held the linstock in readiness, and applied the burning match to the priming on orders from the captain of the gun when he was satisfied with the aim. To the drill time involved must be added the uncertain ignition of the priming, so that by the time the gun actually fired the motion of the ship had materially altered the aim. About 1778 Sir Charles Douglas, commanding H.M.S. *Duke*, introduced, at his own expense, both quill tubes and flintlocks. Quill tubes made the action of the priming quicker and more certain. Flintlocks enabled the captain of the gun, standing clear of the recoil at the end of the lanyard, to give fire himself at the moment he judged correct. The linstock was retained in case of a misfire, but in 1782, when opportunity occurred of testing these improvements in action, only one lock failed in the *Duke*, or the *Formidable* which had also been so equipped on Sir Charles's transfer to that ship. Moreover their rate of fire proved twice as rapid and effective as that of ships working on the old system. Of course wind and spray continued to give trouble until the introduction of percussion and friction-tube firing in the later nineteenth century, nor was even the flintlock sufficiently instantaneous in its action. Indeed the invention of percussion locks came about because the flash that preceded the explosion of the flintlock sporting gun gave birds a chance to take evasive action.

J. D. MOODY

## REVIEWS

**SAILING BARGES.** By FRANK G. G. CARR. Peter Davies. Price 30s.

*Sailing Barges* first came out twenty years ago. It was about the first book on sailing vessels of this kind that had been written and a very satisfactory volume it was. Since then there have been several more books concerning the barge, but these have been more specialized than Mr Carr's work and have mostly been confined to the vessels to be seen in the London River; the author of *Sailing Barges* included every sort of barge round the coast.

Now in 1951 this book has not only been republished but largely re-written and illustrated; the theme of the book is the same and some of the chapter headings are the same but even these have many alterations in the text; too many of these necessitate the use of the past tense instead of the present, alas! But there are many quite new chapters and as has been said many new photographs and drawings, all of which are very good indeed. There are descriptions of all the barge types of vessels round England from the East Coast boomies to the Weaver flats. There are also several very good historical chapters about the early days of the barge and how the vessel evolved from the powerful seagoing ship as exemplified by the last of the Everard sailing barges. A good chapter on some of the famous barge skippers is also of much interest, all of these men being true seamen and of great character, a point which the author brings out very well.

Finally Mr Carr sums up the chances of the sailing barge surviving as a commercial proposition; one would expect, these chances are somewhat dim, the chief reason being the lack of new recruits for crews; the young men will not ship in sail. There are four appendices, two of them new, one of them being the builder's specification for the famous *Phoenician*, which is particularly welcome.

Those who already possess the first book will be glad to have the new one; and to the many who have never been able to get the original volume is now given the opportunity of making a valuable addition to their library.

N. R.

**THE MERCHANT SCHOONERS.** By BASIL GREENHILL. Vol. I. Percival Marshall and Co. Ltd. Price 30s.

*The Merchant Schooners* is, as the title suggests, a book about the smaller sailing trading vessels that flourished right up to the end of the 1914-18 war. But it is not only a history of the ships themselves, it is also a social history, as it deals with a way of life that is now finished and done with to all intents and purposes. These ships to be kept afloat and as going money-making concerns had not only to be manned by a type of seaman now practically extinct but had to have on shore men to build and repair them; the shipwright in wood, expert with the adze and axe; the sail-maker, the blacksmith and a host of minor trades as well. These trades have not altogether gone but the numbers employed in them are greatly reduced and are now confined to yachting centres only. In the days of the merchant schooners, however, every small port had its quota of ship-rights, sailmakers, etc., not to mention ship-chandlers' shops where everything that a ship or sailor needed could be bought, thus forming a little community all working for the same end, to keep the ships at sea in a seaworthy condition; now that has all gone, the small ports are decayed and decaying, at times being visited by a stray yacht or a motor coasting vessel only. All this Mr Greenhill brings out in this excellent work. There have been many books written on sailing ships but this is the first full-sized volume on what the late Basil Lubbock called the 'small fry'. 'Small fry' they may have been but the author of *The Merchant Schooners* makes it very clear what an important part they played in the merchant marine of Great Britain for the best part of a hundred years. With their departure what a difference was made in the life of the people, who lived in their home ports.

Many of these vessels were family concerns and all were locally owned by the butcher, the baker and sometimes the parson, skippered by a part-owner with his sons as members of the crew.



Mr Greenhill touches on all this side of the history of these ships in a very able manner and the reader is made to feel the great local interest in the work of the schooners and ketches. The book starts with a most scholarly summary of the history of the vessels and then goes on to describe in great detail the building of a wooden ship, not omitting to give particulars of how the craftsmen worked and played. Part 2 is the story of the little ships themselves and the firms and owners that operated them; mostly west-country and west-coast people. As Mr Greenhill explains, owing to the shallow seas on the east coast, quite a different type of hull from that used in the Channel and in the west coast ports was evolved. The east-coast vessel, of whatever rig, was more akin to the London River barge and has already been described by other authors in detail. The story of individual ships is given, in some cases, from their building to their end, and building and sail-plans are included; these are particularly interesting as, owing to the fact that many of the smaller vessels were only built from half-models, plans of any sort are very rare. An appendix gives the account book of the schooner *Thetis* over a period of nearly three years, which is also of interest, and a second appendix consists of the cargo book of the ketch *Alford* for 13 months. There are some excellent drawings of details of rigging, spars, etc., which very much help the reader to understand how the schooners and ketches were worked and to realize how small a crew was necessary and at the same time how efficient for the work to be done was the rig of these ships.

There are, too, several good draughts taken from the ships themselves, ships which have only recently gone out of 'commission'. Some fine photographs also add to the value of the book. There are one or two errors, especially in the text on the drawings; for instance, the Appledore reefing gear on p. 81 is called the Jersey gear and vice versa; also the spelling 'halliyard' is surely not usual. In fig. 10, the upper topsail downhaul should be 'unrove' not 'unreeved', and 'unshackled' not 'unscrewed'; in fig. 15, the naming of the yardarms is not very clear. In the index this Society is called the 'Society for *National* Research'. There are several of these sort of things, which is a pity in a book which will certainly become the standard work on this particular class of vessel.

The author has been at immense pains to make everything easy to understand and he has succeeded without doubt; the book is most readable and the style excellent. The publishers have done their work well, too; a nicely got up volume, well printed and well produced as a work of such scholarship should be. The readers of Volume 1 will surely now be impatient for Volume 2.

N. R.

ADMIRAL SIR THOMAS LOUIS, BT. By HENRY BRACKENBURY LOUIS, M.A., D.Litt., Ph.D. Giov. Muscat, 213 St Ursula Street, Valletta, Malta. Price 6s. 6d.

Dr Louis, Headmaster of St Edward's College, Malta, is the great-great-grandson of Sir Thomas Louis. The Foreword is by the late Admiral Louis C. S. Woollcombe, a great-grandson. He reminds us that Sir Thomas's son, Sir John, and his grandson, William Louis, were admirals, and that his granddaughter was the wife of Admiral Sir Robert Spencer Robinson, a Lord of the Admiralty from 1868 to 1871.

John Louis, the father of Sir Thomas, was born in 1720 and had lived at Exeter since 1727, but is believed to have been a grandson of Louis XIV. He kept his origin a secret from his family, but he once showed his daughters a piece of tapestry in the Tuileries and said, 'I was sitting on my mother's knee when she worked that.'

Dr Louis begins his story with the capture of the *Guipuzcoana*, 64, on 12 January 1780, by the *Bienfaisant*, 64, Captain MacBride; Thomas Louis was his first lieutenant. Four days later the *Bienfaisant* completed the capture of the *Phoenix*, the flagship of Don Juan de Langara; Louis took the prize into Gibraltar. In April 1781 Louis got his first command, an armed vessel employed on convoy duty in the Channel. He was posted on 20 June 1783, the day on which the preliminary articles of peace were signed. He was married in 1784, and went to sea again in 1793. He was able to man the *Cumberland*, 74, almost entirely with volunteers from near his home at Torquay. In 1794 he was appointed to the *Minotaur* and in 1798 joined Lord Nelson.

It will be recalled that the *Minotaur* followed the *Vanguard* into action at the Nile, and that Nelson, after receiving his wound, sent for Louis to thank him for his support. Louis took an active part in the operations on the west coast of Italy, and in October 1799 had the unique experience of proceeding up the Tiber in his barge and hoisting British colours on the Capitol as Acting Governor of Rome.

Louis's order book, from which extracts are given, insists that 'the officer commanding on the fore-castle should be the only voice heard', and that 'the smartest way of doing everything is the easiest'.

John Louis went to sea with his father in 1795, but soon afterwards transferred as a midshipman to the *Indefatigable*, Captain Sir Edward Pellew, with whom he had the good fortune to remain.

During the short peace Louis bought a property on the outskirts of Torquay. The house, which he was not destined to live in, remained in his family till 1863, and has since been pulled down.

Early in 1804 Louis was promoted to rear-admiral and took command of a squadron of frigates off Boulogne. His flag captain was Francis William Austen, Jane Austen's brother. In January they went to join Nelson. Louis hoisted his flag in the *Canopus*, late *Franklin*, in whose capture he had helped at the Nile.

Louis was four days' sail to the eastward of Gibraltar when the sloop *Weazel* overtook him with the news that the enemy were out. This was on 22 October. Four days later, off Gibraltar, he learnt of the battle of Trafalgar and of the death of Nelson.

In November 1805 Louis came under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth, with whom he continued till his death. With him he took a leading part in the Battle of San Domingo, for his services in which he received a baronetcy from the King, and a silver vase from the Patriotic Fund; and in the double passage of the Dardanelles, in which Louis led the squadron both up and down.

Louis's next and last service was in command of the naval forces at Alexandria, during our temporary misguided occupation. In his last letter to Duckworth he complains of his health, and wishes he was 'seated with his good wife at Cadewell'. That was not to be; on 17 May he died, and was buried at Malta on Manoel Island. The book concludes with notes about Admiral Sir John Louis and others of his descendants.

Though there is not much of importance in the book that is not to be found elsewhere, for there are only a few of Louis's own letters, it is an interesting record of a distinguished career.

A. H. TAYLOR

ON SAILING THE SEA. A Collection of the Seagoing Writings of HILAIRE BELLOC made by W. N. ROUGHEAD. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1951. Illustrated. Price 10s. 6d. net.

It is, regrettably, many years since anything new has appeared over Mr Belloc's signature (he is now a man of over eighty now) yet even those with but a superficial acquaintance with any of his numerous works must be aware how close was his affinity with things of the sea:

'The great hills of the South Country  
They stand along the sea,  
And it's there, walking in the high woods,  
That I could wish to be,  
And the men that were boys when I was a boy  
Walking along with me.'

All who have been moved by the inspiration of such oft-quoted lines as these will have rendered him the homage due to a poet, but how many have realized that when he also wrote:

'My boat, that was the strongest friend to me—  
That brought my boyhood to its first encounter  
And taught me the wide sea,'

this was not the soul only of a poet giving utterance but that also of an accomplished seaman?

Such Belloc was; and scattered throughout his works one may encounter an abundance of essays on the sea and ships: it is the best of these and of others never previously published that Mr Roughead, his shipmate in many yachting ventures, has selected for this book. And this collection not only throws a singularly revealing light on Belloc's knowledge of things maritime (which is quite profound), but also displays his ever alert spirit of inquiry on matters both historical and practical relating to the sea.

There are, indeed, a number of 'posers' in this collection which it may well tax the resources and ingenuity of our more learned members to answer. 'When you read of a fleet in antiquity "drawn up" upon a shore', Belloc asks, 'how was it done? . . . The ship of antiquity could ride, and also be moored in harbour, but was also beached. It came up to a shelving shore *and was pulled up on to the land*. How was it done?'

Or, 'I have asked myself often enough why the old Egyptians did not take to the sea. . . . We have no stones or inscriptions of Egyptians common in the harbours of the Mediterranean. . . . we have not got an Egyptian maritime legend or tradition.' And (of the light draught of ancient ships), 'It has always puzzled me badly. . . . one would think that so much freeboard would have made the old craft top-heavy.'

I had almost written that perhaps it has been both his loss and ours that Mr Belloc was never a member of our Society, but on second thoughts, I wonder? For one thing, he has no great tolerance of the modern historian, who, he says, 'ignorant of most things, is particularly ignorant of the sea'. Well, we are doing our best to remedy that, of course; but between you and me I am rather doubtful whether Mr Belloc would really welcome complete enlightenment, even were it possible to provide it. Indeed, categorical answers tend to incense him. 'As for those who say you cannot sail so many "knots" in an hour,' he thunders, 'and that the expression is inaccurate because a knot is not the same thing as a sea mile, my feeling about them is so strong that I dare not express it in words; so I leave it at that.'

No: like some sea birds one seems only to encounter many hundred miles from land, the spirit of a poet can only thrive if it be free to move far and wide over the face of the unknown, soaring unobstructed over the hardest of facts or the soundest of theories. And whether we know, or can ascertain, the answers to Mr Belloc's questions is quite beside the point. What matters is that we can appreciate his philosophy and, when the 'sea fever' is upon us, share his vision:

'The channel is up, the little seas are leaping,  
The tide is making over Arun Bar;  
And there's my boat, where all the rest are sleeping  
And my companions are.'

And if we cannot 'take the Hampton road without a warning, and get me clean away' we can certainly turn for a space to this little anthology and find in its pages a balm for our nostalgia.

ALAN F. DAKIN

**TWELVE MEN OF PLYMOUTH.** By GERALD HAMILTON-EDWARDS. Published by the author at 3 Nelson Gardens, Stoke, Plymouth. 96 pages. Price 7s. 6d.

This book consists of lives so slight in compass that they can scarcely be called miniatures: they are, rather, sketches of a series of well-known men either born in Plymouth or closely associated with the city. No fewer than seven were directly concerned with the sea and shipping: Sir John and Sir Richard Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake, Thomas Furneaux, commander of the *Adventure* during Cook's second voyage, Sir William Snow Harris, the inventor of an 'improved type of lightning conductor for ships', Marshall Stevens, whose name is linked with the Manchester Ship Canal, and Scott of the Antarctic. Of the rest four are artists, and the twelfth is William Cookworthy, who discovered china-clay in Cornwall, and so perhaps did more than any single man of his time to increase the traffic of the little ports of the south-west. Cookworthy is principally remembered for his Plymouth ware, which was and is prized.



Mr Hamilton-Edwards's four artists Northcote, Prout, Haydon and Eastlake, were all born in the eighteenth century. Northcote was a pupil of that loyal Devonian, Sir Joshua Reynolds: Prout, so Ruskin used to say, never pleased better than in his early marine water-colours, made by the Devon shore; Haydon, despite his thwarted ambition to be the greatest historical painter of his time, was a portraitist of skill, and worked much in his native place; while Eastlake will always be remembered for the chance that he was able to make sketches of Napoleon aboard H.M.S. *Bellerophon* as she lay in Plymouth Sound. These he was afterwards able to work up into highly popular pictures.

A sensible bibliography will enable any particular sketch to be filled in by an inquiring reader; and of the portraits, two are from paintings by Northcote. One of them is of Furneaux, the other of himself.

OLIVER WARNER

**FRA SEJL TIL DIESEL: Dansk Skibsfart, Søhandel og Skibsbygning, Vol. 1.**  
By F. HOLM-PETERSEN and others. Odense, 1951.

This first volume of 'a history of the Danish merchant navy from the days of sails to modern times' is devoted entirely to sailing ships. It begins surprisingly late; the first chapter is on 'The Days of the Great Trading Companies' and opens with a short account of Ove Gjedde's voyage to Ceylon in 1618-20. From the country which has given us two of the finest specimens of early shipbuilding, the boats from Als and Nydam, one would have expected an earlier start. It is true that neither of these were sailing vessels, but there must be much that could be written about Danish ships and seafaring for several centuries before 1600.

After a chapter on the disaster caused by the British attack in 1807, and others on seaborne trade in general in the early nineteenth century and on the various firms of Copenhagen ship-owners, we have a long section on the activities of the smaller Danish ports and another on the various trades in which Danish sailing ships were employed. These are followed by chapters on life at sea and kindred subjects and finally by a long catalogue of Danish 'Sailing ships and their fates'. Unfortunately these notes are in neither alphabetical nor chronological order and the book has no index, so that their usefulness for purposes of reference is much reduced. Presumably a later volume will supply this essential, and then this fine book with its very large number of excellent illustrations will be an even more valuable contribution to the history of sail than it is at present.

R. C. A.

**SMALL BOAT CONVERSION.** By JOHN LEWIS. Rupert Hart-Davis Ltd.  
Price 2 1s.

This book, by someone who has done the job several times, is a very good introduction to the practical problems which will arise from the various types of craft that can be obtained. The photographs are excellent and are of material help to anyone planning such work. In spite of this I would not like to see anyone attempt such conversions without a great deal more information, as, in my opinion, far too little emphasis is laid on the new strains and stresses which the old hull will have to take. There is not sufficient emphasis put on the fact that a deep keel will put a ringing strain on the old structure, which, unless compensated for by a number of strong new floors, will cause a leak along the garboard-strakes. This leak will be all the more serious in that it will not appear while the boat is at anchor, but will suddenly become serious, or even fatal, when the boat starts working in a seaway. I have had some of this and I know it! Similar remarks should be made about the strengthening of the hull in the way of the mast and its step.

Apart from this the plans in the book appear to me to be excellent, and would look far better than the great majority of conversions to be seen, although in one or two plans I had the feeling that the author had forgotten that an old boat is an old boat and that there is an economic limit to the amount of work which should reasonably be put into a hull whose life is distinctly limited.

ST DAVIDS



FURTHER ENGLISH VOYAGES TO SPANISH AMERICA, 1583-1594. Edited by IRENE A. WRIGHT. Published for the Hakluyt Society by Bernard Quaritch Ltd. Price £2. 2s.

'Francis Drake knows no language but English. He had with him an Englishman who understands Spanish a little and sometimes acted as interpreter. Drake is a man of medium stature, blonde, rather heavy than slender, merry, careful. He commands and governs imperiously. He is feared and obeyed by his men. He punishes resolutely. Sharp, restless, well-spoken, inclined to liberality and to ambition, vainglorious, boastful, not very cruel. These are qualities I noted in him during my negotiations with him.'

Miss Wright's latest selection from the Spanish archives abounds in such sketches of 'the great corsair'. When he happened to see a reference to himself in these terms in a despatch lying on the governor's desk at Cartagena in 1586, he was infuriated. 'Because of this he said many shameless things', reports the bishop, who was so shocked that he broke off negotiations about ransoming the town. Whereupon Drake burned a little more of the place and succeeded in extorting 110,000 ducats.

His anger was justifiable, because for the first time the charge of being a corsair, namely an illicit trader using forcible methods, was not true. When he was last in these seas he had no commission from the Crown; now he was 'General of Her Majesty's Navy'. By sending him to the Indies Elizabeth announced the end of the 'cold war' of the past seventeen years. Drake, like Leicester, was now an instrument of national policy.

This is the third volume of Spanish documents Miss Wright has published with the Hakluyt Society. In her preface she tells us that, unfortunately, it is also her last. Every student of the period has been indebted to her for material about the British seamen in the Caribbean. They appear first as explorers. They become traders using increasingly militant methods. Then in 1585 Anglo-Spanish relations break down into open war. Miss Wright is a realist. She sees nothing of the Protestant hero in Drake, nor any sign of a guided policy in the early exploits of those highly individualistic 'thieves of the sea', both English and French, to which band Drake originally belonged in the days of their private war with Spain. Now, far from being 'a meaner subject of Her Maiesties', knighted, commissioned and with the glory of his voyage round the world behind him, he appears as the destroying angel of Elizabethan England.

From the evidence here produced it is obvious that the reasons why (as Drake gleefully admitted) he was given Santo Domingo as a New Year's gift were that his appearance was a surprise, that the landing was brilliantly executed as an outflanking movement, and that the defences and, above all, the courage of the inhabitants were of negligible strength. It was the same at Cartagena, and it would have been the same at Havana if sickness had not turned the fleet home. Because there was no ransom forthcoming at St Augustine the place was more thoroughly razed than anywhere else. Financially the raid was not the success Drake hoped for, because he missed the treasure fleet by twelve hours. But as an act of war it had the important consequence of compelling Philip to fortify the Indies at enormous expense. It ruined his credit, but it did produce a defence organization which reduced the efforts of swarms of privateers to those of desultory harriers. When their failure became apparent Drake was recalled to strike another mighty blow in those parts. His failure on his last voyage is really the measure of his success eight years earlier to rouse Philip to a sense of his danger.

Apart from the new and, as might be expected, largely hostile light which it throws on Drake's raid, the reader will find in this book fresh material about William Hawkins's voyage of 1583 and Grenville's voyage of 1586. A stray reference to the loss of the *Revenge* in 1591 gives the enemy's point of view: 'He sank one of the King's old galleons and a fly boat. He carried 40 pieces of artillery, each in its port, and 6 extra pieces. He would have fled like the rest if Martin de Vertendona's galleon, which had got the wind of him, had not torn away his foresail with the bowsprit.'

It is thanks to Miss Wright's long sustained researches among sources hardly touched by English scholars that we now have both points of view about the war in the Caribbean, that of the defenders as well as that of the intruders.

CHRISTOPHER LLOYD



Vols. 10-37 at 7s. 6d. each. Quarterly issues of Vol. 38 onwards 10s. 6d. each (postage 5d.). The index will be supplied free to purchasers of a complete volume or sold separately for 2s. each.

Details of back numbers available will be supplied on request. (Published by the Cambridge University Press, 200 Euston Road, London, N.W. 1.)

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